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AN

ESSAY

ON

PVBLIC HAPPINESS,

INVESTIGATING

THE STATE OF HVMAN NATURE,

UNDER EACH OF

ITS PARTICULAR APPEARANCES,

THROUGH THE

SEVERAL PERIODS OF HISTORY,

TO THE PRESENT TIMES.

Nil desperandum. HOR.

VOLUME THE SECOND.

2565
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AN

ESSAY

ON

PUBLIC HAPPINESS.

SECTION III.

Conſiderations on the Lot of Humanity amongſt the modern Nations.

CHAP. I.

On the feodal government.

HAD there been no connexion between the happineſs of mankind and their legiſlation; had thoſe rude covenants which ſupplied the place of laws amongſt the barbarous nations, periſhed with their manners and their cuſtoms, it were, undoubtedly,

an uſeleſs taſk to make the leaſt enquiry into the ſtate of thoſe earlier times, which may be conſidered as the cradle of our modern dynaſties: but we muſt recollect, that it hath been already obſerved that, to form a juſt idea of the true principles which conſtitute the baſis of governments, or rather, of the ſpirit which animates them, we muſt examine attentively the circumſtances under which theſe governments have been eſtabliſhed. And what people have preſerved, more than ourſelves, the traces of our origin? if the French, as they are returning from the repreſentation of the tragedies of Andromache, or Merope, ſhould imagine themſelves to be the rivals of the Greeks, they need only enter into the houſe of the next notary, and peruſe the firſt deed, the firſt inſtrument of ſale, which may fall into their hands, to be convinced, from the mention of the words *fief*, *lord paramount*, and *vaſſalage*, that they are but the heirs of the *Goths* or *Lombards*. Some young ſtudents from the academy, or, perhaps, even from the philoſophical ſchools, are going to beſtow all the enthuſiaſm of applauſe on an actor, whom the public ſeem to idolize: one might ſuppoſe the theatre to be filled with the citizens,

tizens of Athens: in the violence of his tranſports, a ſpectator bruiſes the arm of his next neighbour: they quarrel, retire, and are killed in a duel. Here, then, are our *Greeks* converted into *Sicambrians*, or *Scandinavians*. Examine our laws, obſerve our cuſtoms, and ſee how continually prejudice and reaſon, politeneſs and barbarity are blended together. We reſemble thoſe formidable animals, whom it is neceſſary to render tame, and whom we behold with more ſurprize than pleaſure: even at the ſight of their moſt innocent ſports, our impreſſions of terror do not entirely ſubſide, and, to be affected with their gentleneſs, we muſt think on their natural ferocity. Be this as it will, let us not turn away from thoſe diſagreeable objects, which are going to preſent themſelves to our view. It is of little conſequence what we *have* been, provided there be no reaſon to bluſh for what we *are*. Is it not much better to have occaſion to deplore, than to regret the paſt times? and to whatſoever ſtage of our journey we may have arrived, is not the traveller, who advances ſlowly, more certain of accompliſhing his deſign, than he who turns backward? may our obſervations, then, far from becoming

the ſources of diſcouragement, prove apologies for the preſent age, by explaining the reaſon why it hath not made a greater progreſs. May we convince thoſe unfortunate readers, who doubt whether a good government, or an happy ſociety can exiſt, that all the ſocieties and all the governments which they have in view, are eſtabliſhed on the principles, and drawn from the manners of thoſe barbarous nations, whom we ſo juſtly deem the peſts of humanity. With ſuch materials, was it poſſible to raiſe the moſt beautiful, and the moſt regular of all edifices? and who can efface the firſt given impreſſions? The *Spartans* were abſolute ſavages to the *Ilotæ*; and the affrighted world ſtill felt the robbers under *Romulus*, amidſt the deſtroyers of *Carthage* and *Numantia*.

Much hath been advanced concerning legiſlations; and political eſtabliſhments enjoy their ſhare of approbation; yet men in general find no law, but in example, no rule, but in cuſtom. Now, what people ſhall ſet theſe examples, what people ſhall form theſe cuſtoms, unleſs it be they who are too ignorant to have any knowledge of proper models, and too ſavage to comply with their uſage?

uſage? let us not, therefore, be apprehenſive of directing our ſearch towards a period too remote, if we wiſh to acquire ſome idea of thoſe powerful nations, who, dividing amongſt each other the weſtern part of this little quarter of the globe, called Europe, are, to the eye of philoſophy and reaſon, the whole world.

Of the *French*, *Engliſh*, *Spaniards*, and even the *Germans*, the origin is the ſame; for it is of little conſequence, whether we are deſcended from the *Sicambrians*, or the *Bructeri*, from the *Scandinavians*, or the *Vandals*; we are all equally the poſterity of thoſe barbarous people, who have ravaged the earth. Here are no indigenous nations. Our anceſtors have all conquered the country which we inhabit, or, at leaſt, if the vanquiſhed or ſubmitting nations continued to be the ſources of a future race, they, notwithſtanding, yielded up their rights, their cuſtoms, and even their names to the conquerors. Now, this ſingle difference in the formation of empires is, as it were, the perpetual eſtabliſhment of all thoſe differences, which ſubſiſt at preſent between our laws and the laws of the ancients.

The hiſtory of the world doth not appear to have preſented us with more than two grand epochs, two very diſtinguiſhed generations of the human ſpecies; the propagation of one generation aroſe from their proſecutions of tillage, and from thoſe emigrations which are the conſequences of a ſimple and natural multiplication: it was thus that the *Phenicians* peopled *Europe* and *Africa:* the other generation, iſſuing forth in arms, and, as it were, by enchantment, from the boſom of the ice, and the receſſes of the deſart, approached to devour the labours of the former generation, like thoſe ſwarms of locuſts, which, whilſt none can tell from whence they come, conſume, in one night, the ſubſiſtance of a whole people. The firſt race reſembled a beneficial river, the progreſſive inundations of which fertilize even the moſt diſtant lands. The laſt race may be compared to a torrent, which ſwelling in a night, breaks over every bank, and daſhes down each obſtacle to its paſſage. It is evident that the former race, wiſe and bountiful in their principles, were ſoon corrupted by ſucceſs. . . . . Nature, as yet young, and glowing with fecundity, was too impatient to ſatisfy the ſollicitations of man-

mankind. Situated, I know not how, in thoſe places, the moſt convenient to their ſpecies, they inhabited only the gardens of the earth. No violences leſs than deſpotiſm, ambition, civil war, and all thoſe too haſty fruits, produced by our unfolding paſſions, could have forced them to ſeek out an aſylum amidſt the burning ſands, or on the frozen mountains. Is it not reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that every nation, inhabiting a rigorous climate, is originally a proſcribed people, a race of fugitives? if the palm tree be obſerved to vegetate with difficulty, in thoſe countries which are ſhaded by the ſturdy oaks, or if ſome weak and ſtunted oaks appear amongſt the palm trees, ſay that they are the whimſical productions of art, and introduced to gratify the curioſity of the planter. Perhaps had nature alone been conſulted, the fir would have riſen in *Sweden*, the oak in *Germany*, the pine apple at *Saint Domingo*, and men in *Aſia*. Perhaps too, the human kind can accommodate themſelves to different temperatures, and only become more beautiful and more ſtrong, in thoſe climates which agree with them the beſt: for, on this ſubject, as well as on ſuch a number of other

ſubjects, what is actually known? what can be aſſerted? it is, however, ſufficient to obſerve, that, in the firſt age of the world, the eſtabliſhments of people were formed by emigrations, and by colonies; and in the ſecond age, by invaſions and by conqueſts: from hence ariſe two principles of government, abſolutely oppoſite to each other: and from hence, alſo, proceeds the entirely new organization of political ſocieties; not unlike to thoſe organizations which the philoſophers attribute to the univerſe, where one part is active, and the other part is paſſive; where one part gives, and the other part receives the form. *Novus rerum naſcitur ordo.*

But this new government, this legiſlation of the barbarous nations, hath not been long more known to us, than their origin; and yet what volumes have been written on this ſubject! all had been read, all examined, all reſtored, all cleared up: the duſty treaſures of the cloiſter had been rummaged from end to end: every chronicle, and every chart had contributed its ſhare of information; when *Monteſquieu* appeared, and threw new light upon the matter: and *Monteſquieu* himſelf hath been ſucceſsfully refuted. It is,

per-

perhaps, becauſe theſe authors have never given ſufficient extent to their obſervations: like the aſtronomers, before the diſcovery of *Dolondus*, they made uſe of glaſſes, which could not carry the eye to a neceſſary diſtance. Many writers have conſidered only the feodal government; and in this examination, *Charlemagne* and the *French* alone were included. Others, beſtowing all their attention on the firſt conquerors of the *Gauls*, pretend to have diſcovered, in an army of the *Sicambrians*, the prototype of all modern governments. Others, perceiving the traces of the feodal ſyſtem, in almoſt every law, which hath deſcended to us, confound the different epochs, and would perſuade us, that the ſyſtem which exiſted at the acceſſion of *Hugh Capet*, was as ancient as the monarchy; as if barbarians could have been civilians, and as if every written law were not, for that very reaſon, a modern law.*(a)* The reſt, more exact in their

(a) There are ſome laws which were written prior to the reign of Charlemagne; but it is to him that we owe the digeſtion and amplification of theſe very laws. The author of "Variations de la monarchie Francoiſe," Mr. Gautier de Sibert, of Auxerre, in Burgundy, obſerves, that in the new collection of Salic laws, this prince augmented the price of compoſitions. See vol. 2. p. 54.

their enquiries, have imagined that they found the end of the clue, and reached the origin of the feodal government.

As it is impoſſible to pronounce the names of *Boulainvilliers*, *Dubos*, *Monteſquieu*, and *Mably*,(*b*) without paying the greateſt reſpect to

(*b*) It is only to a very inconſiderable number of readers, that any mention of theſe illuſtrious characters in the French republic of letters can be neceſſary: but as in the preceding volume ſome ſlight particulars have been given of their countrymen, I flatter myſelf that this note will not be deemed altogether inexcuſable.

The *Count de Boulainvilliers*, after a finiſhed education, paſſed the earlier part of his life in the army, and quitting it, to adjuſt the confuſion of his family affairs, he indulged every opportunity of mixing with an attention to private concerns, a cloſe application to the ſtudy of hiſtory. Voltaire imagines that he muſt have excelled all others, on this ſubject, if he had not been too ſyſtematical. His account of the ancient parliaments of *Paris* is tranſlated by Mr. Forman, and was printed in 1739, in two octavo volumes. An author, who declared the feodal government to be the maſterpiece of human inſtitutions, had reaſon to expect opponents. The preſident *Henault* and *Monteſquieu* entirely reject his opinion, relative to the beginning of the French monarchy. Such polite writers could differ from him, without incivility; but *Boulainvilliers* hath been attacked by thoſe who thought the mildneſs and the zeal of chriſtianity were not to be united. His "life of Mahomet," a poſthumous Work, and left unfiniſhed

to their penetration and learning, I ſhould not have hazarded any obſervations, unleſs theſe writers had afforded, by their diſagreement in opinions, proofs that they were liable to

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finiſhed at his death, excited ſo unfavourable an idea of his religious principles, that his memory hath been blackened with imputations which, probably, he did not merit.

When *Torcy*, one of the greateſt miniſters of the court of France, preſided over the department for foreign affairs, he conſidered *Abbé Dubos* as a neceſſary acquiſition, and employed him in different tranſactions of importance, in Germany, Italy, Holland and England. By his conduct, during the treaty of Utrecht, he gained the character of an able negociator. The variety and extent of his talents, as a writer, are viſible in his Works, which, with all their errors, afford a ſolid teſtimony of deep learning and refined taſte. The author of the age of Lewis the Fourteenth hath, not without reaſon, commended the "Reflections on Poetry and Painting," a performance in which Dubos amply atones for ſome few miſtakes, by the diverſity, the novelty, and the weight of his remarks. Order and preciſion are often wanting; yet the writer not only thinks himſelf, but makes his readers think. It was ſolely from what he had ſeen, and meditated on, that ſuch excellent materials were raiſed into a pleaſing ſtructure, by one ignorant of muſic, unable to make a verſe, and at no period of his life, in poſſeſſion of a picture. In his "hiſtory of four emperors of the name of *Gordianus*, proved and illuſtrated, by medals," he ſupports his opinion, in oppoſition to the generally received notion,

to err, and that even their erudition was not equal to the inveſtigation of the truth. As an examination into every circumſtance, by which the happineſs of mankind hath been affected,

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tion, that there were three emperors, with much erudition, and more modeſty. The work, to which the Chevalier alludes, is entitled, "hiſtoire critique de l'etabliſſement de la monarchie Francoiſe dans les Gaules." It hath been obſerved, that if the ſyſtem introduced by Abbé Dubos, had been raiſed on a ſubſtantial foundation, he need not have written three periſhable volumes, in its defence. Perhaps, ſome juſtice may be mixed with the ſeverity of this criticiſm; yet it muſt be confeſſed, that he hath removed many obſtacles to the inveſtigation of the origin of the French. He is of opinion, that the Gauls invited the Franks to govern them, and makes Clovis, who, in the judgment of the moſt celebrated authors, was the reverſe of ſuch a character, more a politician, than a conqueror. Beſides other works, Dubos publiſhed, in 1704, a tract, entitled, "Les interets de l'Angleterre mal entendus dans la guerre preſente," in his account of which, Abbé Lenglet is probably not miſtaken, when he mentions it, as being very favourably received in France, but making no impreſſion on the Engliſh.

Abbé de Mably, the elegant and learned author of "Conſiderations ſur le Grece;" "Droit publique de l'Europe;" "Principes des negociations;" "Obſervations ſur l'hiſtoire de France;" "Entretiens de Phocions;" &c. is, if I miſtake not, ſtill living; but Monteſquieu is dead; and if, in the picture of this illuſtrious

affected, is the object of this work, there must be a particular propriety in remarking what was the general spirit, which actuated the barbarians, who invaded our western countries.

We

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illustrious friend of man, the reader should perceive the glowing pencil of the earl of Chesterfield, penetrated with veneration and concern, he will deem it a more than national misfortune, that the lives of *Stanhope*, and his favorite, were not as durable as is their reputation. The following is the paragraph, which the noble lord caused to be inserted, in the public papers of February 1755. "On the tenth of this month, died at Paris, universally and sincerely regretted, Charles Secondat, baron of Montesquieu, and president a Mortier of the parliament of Bourdeaux. His virtues did honour to human nature, his writings, justice. A friend to mankind, he asserted their undoubted, and unalienable rights with freedom, even in his own country, whose prejudice, in matters of religion and government, he had long lamented, and endeavoured, not without some success, to remove. He well knew, and justly admired the happy constitution of this country, where fixed and known laws equally restrain monarchy from tyranny, and liberty from licentiousness. His Works will illustrate his name, and survive him, as long as right reason, moral obligation, and the true *Spirit of Laws* shall be understood, respected and maintained.". ....To the few, who are unacquainted with the particulars of the life of Montesquieu, an account, translated from the French of the celebrated Mr. d'Alembert,

and

We cannot refuſe our aſſent to thoſe ſolid authorities, by which Abbé de Mably thinks himſelf juſtified in founding the feodal government, firſt, on the alienation for life of be-

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and inſerted in the firſt volume of the Annual Regiſter, and the eighth volume of the Biographical Dictionary, will furniſh them with much entertaining information. I ſhall therefore conclude this note, with ſuch anecdotes, as have no place, in either of theſe compilations. During the fatal illneſs of Monteſquieu, he was waited on, in conſequence of an order from the king, by the duke de Nivernois: at this interview, the topic, perhaps, alſo by command, was religion. "I have always (ſaid the baron) reſpected chriſtianity, and thought the morality of the goſpel the nobleſt gift which the Supreme Being could have beſtowed on man." When Father Routh, an Iriſh Jeſuit, and his confeſſor, preſſed him to deliver up the corrections, which he had made for the Perſian letters, Monteſquieu gave the manuſcript to the ducheſs d'Aguillon, and, deſiring her to conſult his well-wiſhers on the propriety of its publication, added; "I will ſacrifice every thing to reaſon, and to religion, but nothing to the Jeſuits." This illuſtrious woman, who ſcarcely ever left her dying friend, may claim the honour of having preſerved his writings. One day, when ſhe had retired to dinner, Routh, after diſmiſſing the ſecretary, who was the only perſon remaining in the room, locked the door. The ducheſs, unexpectedly returning, and hearing the baron ſpeak with great emotion, inſiſted on being admitted. As ſhe upbraided Routh with the barbarity of tormenting one in his

benefices, or royal domains, made at the treaty of Andeli, and confirmed by the council of Paris, in 615, at the coronation of Clotaire the ſecond: ſecondly, on the ſervice which

his laſt moments, Monteſquieu complained that he would have forced from him the key of his ſcrutore, in order to obtain his papers. Routh pleaded, in his defence, obedience to the will of his ſuperiors. He was diſmiſſed, without having executed his purpoſes. This was the Jeſuit, who, after the deceaſe of Monteſquieu, publiſhed a pretended letter, in which that injured writer is made to declare, "that it was a taſte for novelty, and ſingularity; a deſire to be eſteemed a genius, ſuperior to all common prejudices, all vulgar rules; an inclination to catch at the applauſe of thoſe, who could direct the tide of popular eſteem, and who never beſtow their praiſe ſo freely, as when they ſeem authoriſed in throwing off the yoke of dependance and conſtraint, which occaſioned him to take arms againſt religion." In the library of Mr. de Secondat, the worthy ſon of this great man, are ſix quarto manuſcript volumes, entitled, Materials for the Spirit of Laws; Arſaces, a political and moral romance; and ſome ſcraps of the hiſtory of Theodoric, king of the Oſtrogoths. But the public muſt be deprived of theſe fragments, and of the hiſtory of Lewis the eleventh, all of which Monteſquieu threw into the fire, by miſtake, imagining them to be the foul copies; and theſe, his ſecretary had burned before. In 1758, Mr. de Leyre publiſhed "the Genius of Monteſquieu," a judicious extract from the fine ſentiments, which enrich his works. Here, as the abridger elegantly obſerves, are only links, diſunited from a long chain; but they are links of gold. K.

which Charles Martel thought proper to exact from the poſſeſſors of benefices; the which ſervice became, in proceſs of time, one of the tenures, whereby ſuch benefices were holden: and theſe diſpoſitions were followed, and amended by Pepin, and by Charlemagne. Thirdly, on the ſucceſſion of benefices, extorted from Charles the Bald; and laſtly, on the uſurpation of earldoms, and ſeignories, which was approved by Hugh Capet, and his ſucceſſors. But did this feodal ſyſtem take place amongſt all other people beſides the Franks? Did not the ſeeds of this government exiſt, according to an expreſſion of the ſchools, *in potentia*, amidſt the firſt eſtabliſhment of theſe barbarians? it ſeems neceſſary that this point ſhould be examined.(*c*)

Every

(*c*) If the diſtributions of lands, granted by Conſtantine, and his ſucceſſors, to the troops appointed to guard the frontiers of the empire, eſtabliſhed a kind of beneficiary, and conditional poſſeſſion; if other troops, quartered within the more interior garriſons, in like manner, received a diviſion of lands; if the armies of the barbarians, when they became the allies of the empire, undertook to defend it, on the ſame conditions; if an agreſtic ſoldiery formed a new order of armed

Every author whom I have cited hath not forgotten to go back as far as Tacitus, in order to ſettle his opinion of the conquerors of the Gauls; but beſides that Tacitus is ſuſpected of having ſomewhat embelliſhed his ſubject, and ſo painted the manners of the

 Germans,

armed poſſeſſors, under the title of *Ripuarii*, *Læti*, and *Stationarii*; if the different loſſes of the territories of the empire, by degrees diſplaced its limits, and changed into frontiers, the greater part of *Gaul*; if the laſt conquerors, the *Franks*, for inſtance, did nothing but ſupply the place of this ſoldiery, whom they had driven out; if, finding the diviſions all made, and a *politico-military* order quite ſettled, they were contented to add to theſe, their ancient cuſtoms, that is to ſay, if their kings had kept up that kind of military court, that ſelection (the ſource of which may be traced in the manners of the Germans) of men, attached to their ſervice, ſtiled *Leudes*, *Fideles*, Antruſtiones; in ſhort, if this barbarous nation retained all their ſingular ideas of a perſonal vaſſalage, a vaſſalage independent of properties, may one not expect an ingenious, well connected, and extenſive ſyſtem, touching the feodal law? yet this will not be the ſyſtem of *Monteſquieu*, of *Boulainvilliers*, of *Mably*, or even of *Dubos*, who makes the neareſt approaches to it. It will be the ſyſtem of the author of *les Origines*,* and let me prevail upon the reader

* *The author of* "*Les Origines*," *is the* Chevalier de Buat, *the French plenipotentiary at Dreſden, and late miniſter at Ratiſbon.*

Germans, that they might prove a ſatire on the manners of the Romans, it may be doubted whether he could have been equally well acquainted with the government of ſo many different people, who inhabited the foreſts of *Germany.(d)* It is moreover evident that the nations which invaded *Italy*, *Spain*, and *Britain*, came from a much greater diſtance; and with regard to the real origin of our anceſtors, we know nothing. What then is the point neceſſary to be examined? it is, whether amongſt all theſe people, there hath not been ſome mark of reſemblance; whether, in their conqueſts, they did not adopt a ſimilarity of conduct; whether it doth not appear that their

reader to examine it, in the fourth, and following book of his learned work. He will alſo find the ſame plan, in the memoir of Abbé Garnier, concerning the origin of the French monarchy, with only this difference, that the able academician leans rather more to the Roman origin; ſo that were his poſition granted, the *Franks* might be ſaid to have fallen on the *Gauls*, as drops of rain fall on a piece of water: they, for a moment diſturb its ſurface, but quickly become identical with the whole body.

(d) Abbé du Bos hath ſatisfactorily proved that the form of government was not the ſame amongſt all the tribes which compoſed the Germanic nation. See Hiſt. crit. de la monarch. Franc.

their eſtabliſhments aroſe on the ſame principles, and contained in fact ſome rudiment of the feodal ſyſtem.

Amidſt an armed multitude, ſome order, ſome arrangement is requiſite. It hath a king, chiefs, and officers; in ſhort, it is an army. This army takes poſſeſſion of a country, in which they mean to ſettle. They immediately fix themſelves in the moſt convenient territories, and without making any diviſion, or intending that the vanquiſhed ſhould enjoy a compenſation, by allotments,(e) they ſeize on the domains which are neareſt within their reach; and to this are they impelled by the natural reflexion that invaſion ſpreads terror all around, and drives away the people. The priſoners of this war become ſlaves, and are compelled to labour; ſlaves are alſo found on the eſtates and farms of the conquered; and theſe are employed

(e) It appears that the Goths included the Romans in a diviſion of lands, in conſequence of which, theſe laſt enjoyed a third ſhare, the Goths reſerving the other two ſhares for themſelves: this is evident from the eighth, ninth, and ſixteenth titles of the tenth book of the code of the Viſigoths.

for the benefit of the conquerors;(f) thus, to borrow the language of a common proverb, they *live from hand to mouth*, always in arms, always ready to aſſemble together, at the firſt ſignal. But as their moments of tranquility acquire a longer duration, they begin to arrange, and to ſettle themſelves; their domeſtic concerns become more intereſting, and, leſt they ſhould be too frequently removed from the poſſibility of attending to them, they agree to meet only once or twice

(f) The author of "letters on nobility" imagines that the origin of ſervitude amongſt the Gauls, may be traced farther back than the conqueſt of the Franks. To illuſtrate this ſubject, he quotes a paſſage from the commentaries of Cæſar, which indeed ſtrongly ſupports his opinion. It is in the firſt book. "Populus penè ſervorum habetur loco." The ſame writer, conſidering the great quantity of ſlaves, attached to the glebe, ſuppoſes that amongſt the Gauls, were large poſſeſſions, as well in land, as in ſlaves, which the kings probably ſeized on, and which gave riſe afterwards to that immenſe diſtribution of benefices, ſo apparently difficult to account for. Mr. Hume (hiſt. of Engl. 8vo. p. 226. 227.) informs us that the ſlaves amongſt the Anglo-Saxons were very numerous, and that they were divided into two kinds; the houſehold ſlaves, after the manner of the antients, and the prædial, or ruſtic ſlaves, after the manner of the Germans. Spellm. Gloſs. in verb. ſervus.

twice within the year. Such an aſſembly is the *field of March*, amongſt the Franks; and ſuch alſo is the *Wittenagemot* amongſt the Saxons. Is war in agitation? all the Franks repair to the *field of March*. Is the complexion of the times more peaceable? the principal officers, the great men who compoſe the court of the king, and ſome chiefs, neareſt to the ſpot, are the only perſons who attend this meeting. By little and little, the families multiply; ſtrangers intermixing are confounded with the natives; whilſt the vanquiſhed are impreſſed with terror, the conquerors melt into humanity, and the laws and cuſtoms of the firſt begin to prevail. Their magiſtracies are not entirely the ſame, but their titles re-appear under new terms, and inſtead of thoſe barbarous names, *Graphion*, *Thungin*, and *Rachimbourg*, we read of *Dukes*, *Counts*, and *Centeniers*.(g) Some countries

(g) Theſe aſſemblies were ſtiled the field of March, or the field of May, becauſe they were holden in one of thoſe months, in the open air, and on a plain, ſufficiently extenſive to receive ſuch great numbers, as enjoyed the privilege of being preſent..... The Wittenagemot, or (for ſuch is the ſignification of the word) the

at a diſtance from the parts, where the army were ſtationed, or through which they marched, not having been ſubdued in the firſt battles, ſubmit themſelves under the confirmation of a treaty, which, on their ſide, is but half voluntary. Many privileges are either granted, or preſerved: one language re-acts upon the other language, as do the manners of the conquering nation upon the manners of the indigenous nation. The Franks appropriate to themſelves ſome things which were peculiar to the *Roman-Gauls*, and theſe, in their turn, adopt

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the aſſembly of the wiſe men, was a national council, whoſe conſent was neceſſary to the ratification of all laws, and every act of public adminiſtration..... The Graphions were, at the ſame time, captains and judges over the inhabitants of their particular diſtrict. Theſe, and the Thungins, who, (if I miſtake not) were their lieutenants, or deputies, were aſſiſted, whenever they kept their court, by ſeven aſſeſſors, or Rachimbourgs, always ſelected from the ſame nation, to which the perſon proceeded againſt belonged. Theſe aſſeſſors were the moſt eminent citizens, who declared the ſentence, whilſt the chief of the tribunal only pronounced it. K.

The titles of duke and count had been adopted from the time of Conſtantine. They were generals who commanded at the frontiers, and who kept on foot an armed

adopt other things from the Franks. The Franks, desirous of having laws, form hasty compilations, in which one portion of their own legislation, and another portion of the Roman legislation are rudely intermingled. The Gauls, equally desirous of being placed near the kings of the Franks, claim the privilege of assisting at their councils, and enjoying a share of the honours; whilst the *Sicambrian* king assumes the patrician gown, the citizen of Gaul, armed with his *Franciſque*, or battle-axe, dignifies himself with

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armed body, to whom they had ceded the lands around their quarters. See "hist. du bas emp." v. 1. p. 529.

As to the origin of lands given instead of pay, as stipendium, or feodum, that is traced back as far as Alexander Severus. See hist. du bas emp. v. 5. p. 279.

This history of the lower empire (translated with fidelity, and elegance, into our language) is written by Mr. le Beau, Professor Emeritus, in the university of Paris, and perpetual secretary of the royal academy of inscriptions, and belles lettres. Death hath disunited a "par nobile fratrum:" I think it is to the late brother of this gentleman, who was also a member of the same academy, that the public is indebted for an edition of Homer, and the orations of Cicero, with notes. K.

the title of *Leude.*(*b*) Thus, the greater part of theſe changes in the moral, as in the phyſical ſyſtem, is brought forward by imperceptible gradations, by thoſe little circumſtances,

(*b*) It is evident, from the laws of the Franks, and from the ſtrongeſt authorities, that ſeveral Romans or Gauls enjoyed the title of companions to the king, and that they filled conjunctively with the others, the moſt important poſts, and this, not only on account of their dignity, but the influence which they maintained in the direction of public affairs. The author of "letters on nobility" confirms this circumſtance, by ſeveral examples. (See letter 2.) It is true that the difference which the laws made between the compoſition for the murder of a Frank, companion to the king, and of a Roman, inveſted with the ſame honour, ſufficiently proves that there was not, at any time, a parity between the two nations. But Abbé de Mably hath ſhewn that this kind of diſparity either could not have laſted long, or ceaſed to be humiliating to the Romans, ſince they were at liberty to incorporate themſelves with the conquering nation, provided only that they declared their readineſs to yield obedience to their laws.

I cannot in this place avoid obſerving how much the earlieſt times of our hiſtory are involved in darkneſs; for whilſt Monteſquieu and Mably confine the title of Leude, to thoſe Fideles, or Antruſtiones, who were the companions of the king, we read in Chantereau, that this word ſignified the people in general, and that, alſo, by the expreſſion, Leuth, in the German language, is meant the people. This opinion is ſupported by a multitude of quotations. See Orig. des fiefs. ch. 7.

ſtances, which eſcape our obſervation, and which appear the more inconſiderable, the nearer they are placed to the circumſtances, which reſult from them.

If we admit the opinion of the *count de Boulainvilliers*, the Franks were all equal, and their king was no more than the chief of a troop, formidable even to himſelf: if we believe *Abbé du Bos*, whoſe ſentiments on this head are, unfortunately, the ſentiments of the majority of our lawyers,(*i*) the king was the ſole maſter of the nation, the ſole proprietary of invaded lands, in conſequence of which, every ſubject who obtained an allotment of theſe lands, was indebted for it abſolutely to his munificence.(*k*) Conſult *Abbé de*

(*i*) One cannot perceive without concern, that every attorney general, every ſollicitor general, and even Mr. d'*Agueſſeau* himſelf, eſtabliſh it as a principle, that the maxim, *nulle terre ſans ſeigneur*, is general in the law of France; and that the lords always hold their fiefs dependant on the bounty of their kings, from whoſe gift and diſtribution all hath proceeded; as if it were not neceſſary that previous to their giving every thing away, they muſt have uſurped every thing.

(*k*) Preſident Henault ſeems to have embraced a middle opinion: he leans more to the authority of the kings,

de Mably, and he will tell you that the government of the Franks was democratical. Conſult *Preſident de Monteſquieu*, and he will obſerve to you, that nobility exiſted even amongſt the huts of the Germans. Might we not, in imitation of divided republics, chooſe

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kings, than Boulainvilliers, but he doth not acknowledge any nobility prior to the third race of the French kings.

Chantereau, an author of the laſt century, and intendant of the fortifications of Picardy, &c. though deeply ſkilled in the antiquities of his country, muſt be read with ſome allowances. Many curious manuſcripts, drawn up by this writer, are in the library of the king of France. (See bibliotheque de le Long.) It ſeems extraordinary, that after ſuch learned reſearches, Chantereau ſhould have fixed the firſt introduction of hereditary fiefs, poſterior to the acceſſion of Hugh Capet. . . . . If I miſtake not, the Mr. d' Agueſſeau, to whom the chevalier alludes, was, firſt, attorney-general, and then, ſollicitor general, in the reign of Lewis the fourteenth, and in two years after the deceaſe of that prince, appointed chancellor, by the regent. At his entrance into buſineſs, he led off in ſo diſtinguiſhed a manner, that the celebrated Talon, preſident a mortier, obſerved that he only wiſhed to end, as d' Agueſſeau began. His abilities were exceeded by his humanity, and the Pariſian who hath heared of the ſevere winter of 1709, and the extreme famine which attended it, muſt have been told, that it was this patriot, who relieved the diſtreſſes of his country, by enforcing

chooſe ſome foreign power, for our arbiter? let us, at leaſt, avail ourſelves of induction, and analogy, thoſe neceſſary ſuccours to him who endeavours to pervade the obſcurities of hiſtory.

A barbarous aſſemblage of people, nations iſſuing from the north, conquered *England* and

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enforcing obedience to uſeful, but forgotten laws, and expoſing to an immediate, and reaſonable ſale, thoſe quantities of corn, which wretches, who ſeek for profit amidſt the miſeries of the public, had amaſſed together. When the famous Mr. Law firſt made his propoſals, they were, through his means, rejected. The ſecond attempt of this adventurer reverſed the ſcene. His project was adopted, and d' Agueſſeau not only loſt the ſeals, for having firmly oppoſed it, but was baniſhed to his eſtate. The chancellorſhip was afterwards more than once reſtored to him, and taken from him. He died in 1752, when he was entering into his eighty-third year. The infirmities, natural to ſo advanced an age, prevented him from executing the duties of his office; but in recompence for his ſervices, he was permitted to retire, with all the honours annexed to his former dignity. His works compoſe ſix quarto volumes. His deſign was to have eſtabliſhed an entire conformity in the execution of the ancient laws, without changing their fundamental principles, and to have added whatſoever might be wanting to their amendment. Previous to the alteration of our calendar, he was conſulted on this ſubject, and the judicious remarks which

and *Scotland*. Other nations eſtabliſhed themſelves in their proper climates, where they founded empires, which exiſt at preſent. Let us examine the accounts of *Hume*, and *Robertſon*, thoſe intelligent authors who, continually enlightened by the torch of criticiſm, have explored the traces of the firſt ſyſtem of government, to which their country ſubmitted; and here, let us carefully obſerve whether this ſyſtem, diſcoverable in the annals of theſe inſular people, hath a more original air, and preſents a purer image of the primitive

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which he tranſmitted to England, greatly encouraged the intention of introducing the new ſtile, although it was not executed until ſome years afterwards.

The Preſident Henault is the author of "abregé chronologique de l'hiſtoire de France," ſo ſhort a work is ſeldom found ſo full of information. It is an excellent model, from which few good, but many bad copies have been taken. The beſt intimation is the hiſtory of Spain, by Mr. Macquer: this gentleman had great abilities, and as the preſident aſſiſted him, ſucceſs was certain. The talents of Henault were not limited to one ſubject: the French theatre is indebted to him for the excellent tragedy of Francis the Second; and his ballad-farce "les chimeres" abounds with more wit, than is generally thrown into the "*concord of ſweet ſounds*," and muſt have pleaſed, though in a leſs degree, without thoſe graces which it received from the muſic of the duke de Nivernois. K.

primitive legiſlation; for the Gauls already civilized, already under ſubjection to the Roman laws, could not have acquieſced under the laws of the conquerors, without modifying them, without re-acting in ſome manner, on the power which oppreſſed them; whereas the rude, ignorant, and half-ſavage Britons were unable to recover, by the influence of their political opinions, the empire which force had juſt ſeized from them. Let us, therefore, hope to gain ſome information from this quarter, and enquire, in particular, what was the government of the Saxons.

Chieftains, that is to ſay, generals, or chiefs, have the command of whole tribes, called *clans*; of theſe *clans*, they are the protectors, and the patrons; they preſide over, and govern them: theſe chiefs are ſtiled *Thanes*, that is, nobles, great, illuſtrious: by their more antient Latin titles, they are called *Satrapæ*, *Principes*, *Optimates*, *Proceres*. On the whole, therefore, it appears that the conſtitution is far from being either purely monarchical, or purely democratical. The aſſembly of the great alone, and not of the whole nation, compoſes the *Wittenagemot*, or the ſtates general. Amongſt theſe people, as in *France*, were

were *freemen*, and *ſerfs*, or *ſlaves*. The freemen ſtiled *Ceorles*(*l*) ſeem to be of the ſame order of citizens with thoſe who, at the eſtabliſhment of ſeignories, in France, were excepted from theſe uſurpations, and remained under

(*l*) The word *Ceorle* ſignified labourer, cultivator. The German word *Kerl* hath a good, and a bad meaning, like the French word *drôle*, which is, probably, derived from it. *Un drôle bien bati*, a well made fellow. *Un drôle qui meriteroit d' etre puni*, a ſaucy fellow.

In its more ancient ſenſe, Kerl ſignified a warrior, an hero. This is the etymology of the word Carle, which in the *Celtic* language was pronounced *Karl*. See Pelloutier, hiſt. des Celtes.

In our language, this word, ſince corrupted into *churl*, means a rough, brutal perſon. *Gay*, and *Bentley* uſe it; and before them, *Milton*;

" The *carle* beheld, and ſaw his gueſt
" Would ſafe depart, for all his ſubtile ſleight."

it occurs frequently in *Chaucer*, and ſignifies *brave*, *robuſt*, in ſome paſſages of that poet. The common people of Northumberland, ſtill keeping the idea of a term, implying ſuperior ſtrength, uſe it to expreſs a male ſpecies, as a *karl-cat*, *karl-hemp*.

This hiſtory of the *Celtæ*, by Mr. *Pelloutier*, paſtor of the French church at *Berlin*, appears to greater advantage, in the new edition, by Mr. *de Chiniac*, *avocat au Parlement*, who hath not only inſerted the hiſtorical eulogium of the author, from Mr. *Formey*, but enriched it with additional notes, and, which were equally wanting, corrections of the ſtyle. K.

under the immediate authority, and conduct of the counts. Of the Serfs, there were two kinds; prædial, and domeſtic. We may perceive alſo from the laws of *Alfred the Great*, that the *Anglo Saxons* had their hundreder, or preſiding magiſtrate of a diviſion, not unlike the *Thungins*. Thus far the political ſyſtem of the two nations was tolerably exact, excepting that in France, the manners and legiſlation of the conquered maintained a more conſiderable influence over the manners and legiſlation of the conquerors; and that the ancient Franks, being continually engaged in war, were obliged to remain longer in arms: and hence, perhaps, ariſes the difference between the *Wittenagemot*, and the *field of March*. The Franks, always at war, were under a neceſſity of aſſembling *in the field of March*, that they might be reviewed. The Saxons, enjoying tranquility, and without enemies, attended to their particular affairs, and left the deciſion of public matters to the great.

Let us now examine the ſyſtem which prevails, even to this day, in the countries of theſe ſame conquerors, namely, *Ruſſia*, and *Poland*, the reader muſt not be ſurpriſed that

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two ſuch different governments are brought together. In *Ruſſia*, the Great, oppreſſors of the people, are, in their turn, oppreſſed by a deſpot: in *Poland*, the Great have delivered themſelves from that tyranny which they, nevertheleſs, exerciſe againſt others; but to whatever part we direct our view, we ſhall perceive *Thanes*, *Bojars*, or *Palatines*;(*m*) their names are immaterial; ſole maſters, ſole poſſeſſors of the lands, ſole ſharers in the concerns of government, it is with reluctance that they permit a nation of ſlaves, to enjoy a part of thoſe neceſſaries of life, in

(*m*) The Bojar, or Boyard, in Ruſſia, is not a title of nobility, but a name acquired by the enjoyment of any poſt; as having been a member of the privy council, &c. The Palatines of Poland, including four officers of ſtate, who rank with them, are in number thirty-ſeven. In war, they march at the head of the nobility of their palatinates: in peace, they preſide within the courts of juſtice, and pronounce ſentence: they ſettle the prices of goods, and proviſions brought to the market, examine weights, and meaſures; and protect the Jews. When abſent, during the ſeſſion of a diet, or on any public occaſion, the buſineſs of the palatinate is entruſted to the Caſtellans, an order of ſenators, without legiſlative powers in time of peace, but acting, during war, in conſequence of a general ſummons, as Palatines. K.

in the produce of which their labour hath aſſiſted.(n) I can believe that the Germans really were the free and vertuous people, deſcribed by Tacitus; but I muſt preſume to doubt, whether theſe were the Germans, who conquered the weſtern countries; and as long as I perceive that Denmark, Poland, Ruſſia, and even Tartary,(o) abound with traces of the primitive government of the Barbarians;

(n) The Weregylde, or price of blood, ſtill ſubſiſts in Poland, where, if one lord kills a peaſant, who is the ſlave of another lord, he is only obliged either to preſent him with as valuable a ſlave, or purchaſe an indemnity for ſome trifling compenſation.

(o) A ſtriking inſtance of the feodal government, in all its purity, ſtill exiſts in the Ukraine; and is preciſely ſuch as it muſt have been in its primitive ſtate. The Czars gave this province to the Coſſacs, on condition that they ſhould cultivate it, and alſo be obliged to ſerve, whenſoever it might be required. There is no eſtabliſhment, no legiſlation; the whole conſiſts of military forms. This province is divided into ſeveral regiments, which compoſe many diſtricts. Each company becomes a village, ſubject to the orders of a captain, who, in his turn, is under a colonel reſiding within the place. The Hetman, or chief, lives in a kind of capital, which is an entrenched camp, where a certain number of horſe and foot are maintained in conſtant pay. The reſt labour and cultivate the ground under the ſole condition of appearing in arms, on all neceſſary occaſions.

whilſt amidſt theſe traces, I diſcover an intimate connection with facts, the inveſtigation of which, is my preſent object, I ſhall be inclined to think, that the road which I have taken, is the road of truth. Would we, in general, acquire ſome idea of the feodal government, as modified by Charlemagne, and his ſucceſſors? let us ſtudy the public law of Germany. Would we gain ſome knowledge of an anterior feodal government? let us read the hiſtory of the people of the North.*(p)*

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(p) Mr. de Voltaire (Hiſt. Gen.) diſcovers the feodal government even amongſt the Timariots, or Zaimats,* of the Turks. He imagines that this form of government was always peculiar to the Weſtern Tartars; and very juſtly obſerves, that Tamerlane introduced it into the Indies, where are ſtill the great vaſſals, tyrants in their different diſtricts, but ſubject to the Mogul, under the ſeveral titles of Omra, Raja, and Nabob.

It may, perhaps, be conſidered as needleſs to deduce all theſe eſtabliſhments from the ſame original, ſince they appear to reſult naturally from a government founded in right of conqueſt. That Fernando Cortez diſcovered ſuch an eſtabliſhment in Mexico, is a ſingular

* *The tenure by which theſe hold their Timar, or alotment of land from the Grand Seignior, conſiſts of a ſervice in war on horſeback, and an acknowledgement of one tenth of their revenue. . . . . The Omrahs are the great military officers, the Rajas are the pagan princes, and the Nabobs are the viceroys.* . . . . . K.

I can hardly give up this diſtinction of the feodal government into two epochs, as it ſeems to throw a more philoſophical light over the firſt ages of our hiſtory, and to furniſh us with a more extenſive, and general proſpect of the condition of mankind, during theſe times of ignorance. Without examining, therefore, whether the word *fe-od* originally ſignified all land granted as pay, as ſubſiſtance,(*q*) the which etymology would

lar circumſtance. There, as in Germany, the great vaſſals enjoyed the privilege of electing the emperor; a privilege which may be equally traced in the king elector of Bohemia, and the king elector of Teleuco. See Antonio de Solis.

Mr. de Voltaire, the Proteus of literature, of whom every reader muſt have heared, is not to be deſcribed. It is ſcarcely poſſible to diſcover a department of modern authors, where he is miſſing. So various are the tendencies, and the merits of his performances, that it would be equally difficult, at one moment, to praiſe him too extravagantly, and, at another moment, to cenſure him too ſeverely. K.

(*q*) Such is the opinion of Chantereau, (See Origines des fiefs, l. 1. ch. 2.) He imagines that the word *fe-od* hath been improperly tranſlated *beneficium*, and that *prædium* would have been a better conſtruction. It ſeems, however, that *beneficium* was uſed by the Romans themſelves, to ſignify lands granted to the ſoldiers as

authoriſe the aſſignment of a ſtill more ancient origin to the feodal ſyſtem, it will be ſufficient to obſerve, that this government, in its ſecond epoch, that is, in its diſtribution of fiefs, as regulated under the Capetian kings, could only have ariſen from a government ſimilar to that which exiſted during the firſt

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as pay. (See the ſtate of the empire, and Du Cange voc. beneficium) Bruſſel ſuppoſes that *feodum* was, under the ſecond race, ſynonimous for *beneficium*, of which he inſerts proofs. (See b. 1. c. 5.)

I would beg leave to aſk, whether the granted lands were not, at firſt, ſtiled *munera*, and whether they did not preſerve that appellation, ſo long as they were holden only at will? *Beneficium* ſeems to ſignify a grant for life, and, if Spelman be right, was called *feod*, when rendered hereditary..... I cannot inform the reader to which ſtate of the empire (notice de l'empire) my learned friend refers; it is probable that he alludes either to the "Imperium orientale" of Banduri, a celebrated Italian, or to "Notitia utriuſque imperii, in Grævii theſauro, tom. 7." ..... Mr. Bruſſel publiſhed his "novel examen de l'uſage general des fiefs en France," in 1727. It is an hiſtory of the feodal ſyſtem, during the eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries. The beſt edition of the "Gloſſaire de la baſſe latinité," by du Cange, a learned writer of the laſt century, and treaſurer at Amiens, his native city, is that publiſhed, with a ſupplement, in 1766, by Abbé Carpentier. The joint efforts of two ſuch profound

firſt epoch; that it was in itſelf military and oppreſſive; that it naturally inclined to a barbarous ariſtocracy;(r) and muſt in the end have unavoidably deſtroyed every idea of liberty and property. In Great-Britain we may perceive *chieftains* and *thanes*, abſolute lords over immenſe tribes, tyrants of a whole

found antiquarians have certainly rendered it a work of great merit; yet, were it otherwiſe, it might ſeem unfeeling to condemn it: the literati who drudge thro' life, in the duſty chace of obſolete expreſſions, are rather to be pitied, than diſapproved. Had every author declined a toil, generally diſguſtful, the page of hiſtory could not have been ſo much enlightened as it is. The amiable modeſty of du Cange is more than a ſhelter againſt ſeverity; it is a claim upon applauſe. He uſed to obſerve, that in the compilation of ſuch humble works, as his were, the only requiſites were eyes and hands. K.

(r) I would willingly conclude this chapter, without any mention of the adventure, in which Clovis was concerned, when he could not obtain from one of his ſoldiers a vaſe which he was deſirous of reſtoring to St. Remy. In fact, this hiſtory is become the common topic, on which all authors have expatiated, and, without reſerve, adjuſted to their own concluſions, as if the predetermined revenge of a barbarous king, who ſoon afterwards aſſaſſinates his ſubject, under the feigned pretence, that his arms were not in order, or the brutality of a Sicambrian, without reſpect for his chief, could ſerve as a precedent in law for the eighteenth century.

province, and kings within the kingdom. In Ruſſia, in Poland, the cultivator of the ground languiſhes in ſlavery, whilſt the proprietor lives either in indolence, or by pillage. In France ſome lands are diſtributed, are granted as pay, as ſubſiſtance, under the name either of Salic lands, or of *Allodium*;(s) and

century. I cannot, however, in this place, avoid remarking, that the preſumption of the ſoldier doth not prove that the government of the Franks was rather democratical than ariſtocratical. It is always difficult to draw an inference from the military government, that may be applicable to the civil government. And beſides, they who have belonged to the army, muſt be ſenſible, that however deſpotic the military authority may be, there are circumſtances which frequently require great addreſs, and preſence of mind. There is no prince, or general, who hath not, on ſome occaſions, been forced to ſeem inſenſible of affronts. The ſtory of the Pruſſian deſerter is well known; being aſked by his maſter, why he went off, "becauſe (ſaid he) your affairs are in too bad a way." "Wait (replied the monarch) till the end of the campaign, and if my affairs do not mend, we will deſert together."

(s) Salic lands were inheritances, from a ſucceſſion to which, women were excluded by the Salic law. In Allodial poſſeſſions, the owner enjoyed a full right of property, and dominion, not holden of any ſovereign, or ſuperior lord, to whom he was bound to do homage, or perform ſervice. K.

and the principal domains, the moſt opulent poſſeſſions are given, retaken, laviſhed away, and again ſnatched at, under the title of *Beneficium:* ſuch riches were then as precarious, as in the preſent times are the poſts of miniſters, and the places about the court. The civil eſtabliſhment of the whole nation is but the winter quarter of the army. So ignorant are they of the true value of rural and domeſtic life; ſo little do they reliſh the happineſs of being at once proprietors and fathers of a family, that for ſome vain titles, ſome frivolous prerogatives, or the privileges of oppreſſing others, they barter away their *allodium*, or freehold, for an alienable benefice.

It muſt be confeſſed, that ſhortly afterwards uſurpation arrived to aid imprudence; but yet within the ſtruggle which was to eſtabliſh firſt the property, and next the inheritance of benefices, they were leſs jealous of what was uſeful, than of what was honourable. In fact, it was not in ſuch lands, as produced only ſome kinds of ſubſiſtance, but in the power, by the means of which, money was amaſſed, that utility reſided. The places of counts and dukes brought forth a better

harveſt than ill-cultivated fields. Hence aroſe that avidity with which each uſurped the right of judging; and hence proceeded thoſe ſeignories, eſtabliſhed in the lands, which had been wreſted either from the royal domains, or from the juriſdiction of dukes and counts. The *freda*, or fines,(*t*) were farmed by the new uſurpers; and it is eaſy to judge with what a degree of activity they muſt have exerted themſelves in the prevention of crimes, who acquired a livelihood by ſentences.

This naturally explains the reaſon why, from the firſt race, and during the ſtill barbarous times, the Franks enacted laws ſo loaden with details, and ſo replete with every trifling nicety. In fact, the greater part of theſe laws made up an entry book of pecuniary fines. It is aſtoniſhing that a rude and ignorant people ſhould have had a code, one chapter of which was employed in the ſpecification of the mulct to be paid by the perſon, who ſhould have ſqueezed the hand,

or

(*t*) The *fredum*, in the opinion of our juſtly celebrated hiſtorian, Doctor Robertſon, was manifeſtly the price paid to the magiſtrate for the protection which he afforded againſt the violence of reſentment. See hiſt. of the reign of Charles V. vol. 1. p. 361.

or the finger of a free woman:(*u*) our wonder will be increaſed, when we perceive that this very collection doth not afford one article, which throws any light upon the public law of the nation. What would the politicians of the fourteenth century have ſaid, if, when the Salic law decided for Philip de Valois againſt Edward the Third, it had been obſerved to them, that this fundamental law of the ſtate opened with a treatiſe on ſtolen hogs? (*de furtis porcorum*) Were we to examine the laws of the Lombards, the Viſigoths, the Burgundians, &c. we ſhould find nothing except theſe diſguſting and ridiculous declarations.(*x*) It muſt, however, be confeſſed,

(*u*) Si quis homo ingenuus fœminæ ingenuæ manum aut digitum ſtrinxerit ſol XV culpabilis judicetur. Si vero brachium ſtrinxerit ſol XXX culp. dic. Si mamillam ſtrinxerit ſol XIV culp. dic.

With regard to the other gradations, the law hath given us abſolution.

(*x*) I ſhall, however, quote one or two articles. The code of the Viſigoths (l. 2. tit. 1.) forbids the phyſicians to bleed the wife, in the abſence of her huſband; and ſentences them, in caſe of tranſgreſſion, to a fine of 10s. The ſixth title of the ſame law enacts, that if a phyſician ſhould kill a free man, at a blood-letting, he ſhall be

feſſed, that amongſt theſe agreſtic nations, our anceſtors may claim precedence in ignorance, and ferocity. Whether it be that the Lombards and the Viſigoths were originally a milder people, or that they were eſtabliſhed amongſt more poliſhed nations, it is certain that they were in general leſs barbarous than the Franks. But ſuch diſtinctions quickly diſappeared. Charlemagne, by reducing all theſe people to ſubjection, too eaſily effected their aſſimilation with each other. We may at once perceive that from this irregular government of the firſt, and ſecond race; from that mean avidity which flattered and robbed the ſovereigns; from the precarious ſituation in which property, at that time, ſtood; from the fury with which every thing was invaded, and ſelfiſhly turned to private advantage, whether in matters of war, or juſtice, of conqueſt, or magiſtracy, there muſt

be delivered to the relations of the deceaſed, to be by them detained in ſervitude. If he hath but killed a ſlave, he ſhall only be obliged to furniſh ſuch another ſlave. It will readily be ſuppoſed that this law is fallen into diſuſe. Were it put in force, the faculty, like other bodies politic, muſt be expoſed to a dreadful bankruptcy.

muſt have reſulted the perpetual alternatives of tyranny, oligarchy, and anarchy; that the ſpirit of war was then conſtantly kept alive; in ſhort, that the people tore each other in pieces, and that the lot of humanity was more miſerable than ever.

And yet it was from hence that an entirely new form of government was deſtined to proceed; a form ſo extraordinary, that the ancients who diſcuſſed, ſuppoſed and gueſſed at every thing, have never dreamed of aught like it. This is the feodal government in its ſecond ſtate, in its regularity, and ſuch as it ſtill exiſts in our times. This vaſt and magnificent ſyſtem, this machine at once ſo complicated, and ſo ſolid, was nevertheleſs but the effect of chance, but the entirely natural modification of that political conſtitution which preceded it.

When Henry the Fourth had an immediate occaſion of the neceſſary ſupplies, wherewith to ſtop the progreſs of the Spaniards, he ſaid to the proprietors of certain offices: "Is it your deſire that theſe poſts ſhould deſcend to your children? give me a ſum adequate to their value, and I will make them hereditary in your family." In the time of Charles the Bald,

Bald, matters were not conducted exactly on the ſame plan, and I really believe that the propoſition came from the poſſeſſors, or uſufructuaries; but be this as it will, a ſimilar ſtep was adopted. The conceſſion of benefices always implicitly included an impoſition of ſervice: the perſon obliged was to perform ſervice to his benefactor; and it is thus that the Staroſties(y) are ſtill given in Poland to thoſe whom the crown is deſirous of attaching to its intereſts. Charles-Martel and Charlemagne thought fit to render theſe conventions explicit, by preſcribing the nature and limits of the required ſervice. Charles the Bald did that, through fear, which Henry the Fourth undertook ſolely from neceſſity. The inheritance was confirmed to the poſſeſſors of benefices. But, how were all theſe lands, on a ſudden, converted into benefices? in

(y) The majority of the Poliſh eſtates conſiſts of Staroſties, which muſt be diſpoſed of by the king, in ſix months after a vacancy. They are conſidered as the rights of old military officers, and beſtowed in recompence for paſt ſervices. Hence probably they derive their name, the word *Staroſt* ſignifying advanced age. Each Staroſta pays a fourth of his revenue to the republic. K.

in conſequence of that vanity, which occaſioned the French to ſacrifice ſecurity, either to honour, or to opulence; in conſequence of claims, or envy, which, amongſt the Gauls, made it reckoned a point of honour, to aſſimilate with the Franks, by transforming the Patricians into *Leudes*, and the ſenators into *Antruſtiones*; in ſhort, in conſequence of uſurpation, which cruſhing the weak, had invaded every little *allodium*, and the *Salic lands*.

The government ſeems endued with a certain quantity of power, a certain conſideration, at all times conſtant; and which, amidſt its changes only paſſes from one ſituation, to another ſituation. The kings being debaſed, the great were exalted. The great, in their turn, took upon them to act like ſovereigns. The leſs ſcrupulouſly they kept within their ſubordinate relation to the throne, the more they exacted from their inferiors. As for themſelves, therefore, they found no difficulty in aſſuming the rank of princes, and in receiving the homage which they rendered to the chief of the monarchy, from their own dependants. Hence proceeded thoſe arriere-fiefs, and all the ramifications of the feodal

ſyſtem.

ſyſtem. Let the reader preſent to his imagination an intendant arrogating to himſelf an abſolute authority over a whole province: he will perceive how ſpeedily each little ſecretary of ſuch a potentate is metamorphoſed into a ſecretary of ſtate; how ſuddenly the ſubdelegates are transformed into comptrollers of the finances; and with what facility aſſeſſors are turned into preſidents. Whoſoever hath travelled through Germany, muſt have marked the traces of this infatuation. Should the prince, whom you have left but ſome few days before, at Vienna, or at Berlin, either in the anti-chamber of the miniſter, or filing off at the head of the guard, receive you within his little *reſidence*, you cannot find him without his ſurrounding court, crowded with officers of all denominations, who are qualified with every kind of title, and frequently bedizened with ribands. There, each individual is an officer, whether he be a domeſtic, or a ſoldier; ſo that in this principality nothing is wanting, except a people, and lands.

The ſame circumſtances aroſe in France. The *Great* eſtabliſhed, the nobility exalted, and the clergy enriched themſelves. The people

people alone are neglected: they were conſidered as the ſpoil for which all diſputed, the prey from which each received his ſhare of carnage. A judgment may be formed of the ſituation of the people, under the feodal government, from the privileges granted to the commons:(z) theſe were the liberty of having their children inſtructed in reading and writing; of ſelling proviſions in the market at a proper time; and, what is the moſt remarkable, of accommodating proſecutions. In fact, as hath been already obſerved, the diſpenſation of juſtice, conſtituting one of the moſt valuable revenues of the lord, a kind of contraband trade was carried on, in the amicable ſettlement of ſuits. This principle of avarice is alſo viſible in another law, peculiar to thoſe times. An enormous capitation tax was exacted from the Jews. When an individual of the Jewiſh religion was deſirous of becoming a convert to chriſtianity, he might abjure his errors, if he pleaſed, but he was obliged to indemnify his lord. The ſoul, in this caſe, was ſnatched from hell, yet it was neceſſary, that the loſs of the body ſhould

(z) See "De Mably ſur l'hiſtoire de France," vol. 2. chap. 1.

ſhould be reimburſed to the community. So vehement, at that period, was the paſſion of adding to the revenue, by every poſſible extortion, that a converſion was conſidered as a bankruptcy, and even Paradiſe was not allowed a privilege to protect. Then, might have been perceived a ſtate without laws, a monarchy without chiefs, a king without ſubjects. So multiplied were the boughs that they concealed the trunk; whilſt the ſtate reſembled thoſe briars, which, ſhooting forth their branches in a thouſand different twiſts, entirely exclude all appearance of the ſtem, which ſticks to earth. Every law was ſwallowed up in the abyſs of the feodal law. The laws of ſovereignty diſappeared with the reſt, and the rebellious ſubject was no longer liable to any puniſhment, except the confiſcation of his fief.(*a*) One barbarous, dreadful law alone remained; it was the law of war. All the barons, all the poſſeſſors of fiefs

(*a*) Chantereau obſerves, in his treatiſe on the origin of fiefs, that when Lewis the Thirteenth marched into Lorrain, at the head of his arriere ban, or *his vaſſals, and the vaſſals of his vaſſals*, to oppoſe the progreſs of Galas, the Imperial general, the majority of the gentry per-

fiefs were authoriſed to proceed to combats againſt each other, and even againſt their ſovereigns, whenſoever their feodal rights could not be otherwiſe determined. Juſtice preſerved a profound ſilence, and entruſted her deciſions to a duel: How worthy of ſuch ferocious men was this judgment!

perceiving that the campaign was protracted to a great length, and wearied with having attended the army all that while, returned to their own homes. They were proceeded againſt by an order from the king, and it was given out that their puniſhment was to be, as in caſes of deſertion, death; but Chantereau, who was at that time councillor to the ſovereign council of Nancy, maintained that theſe gentlemen, having been obliged to ſerve, ſolely by virtue of their fiefs, could only be puniſhed by a confiſcation of ſuch fiefs. This advice was followed.

To account for the enormous multiplicity of feoffments and ſub-feoffments of every kind, it muſt be remarked, that at their firſt riſe, the lords were almoſt conſtantly at war, and that then there were no ſtipendiary troops, nor any money to pay them; and beſides, if even there had been money, all the military troops conſiſting of the cavalry of the houſhold, it was impoſſible to encreaſe their number, without encreaſing, at the ſame time, the number of vaſſals. It was for this reaſon, that the rights of the chace, the tolls of the high-ways, the market-ſtalls, and even the manor-bakehouſes were converted into feoffments. (See Bruſſel de l'uſage des fiefs) This celebrated author hath preſerved a liſt of one

Yet fury hath its bounds; and what is called courage hath at all times been confined within certain limits. Perſonal intereſt and ſelf-preſervation ſecretly repined at this prejudice; and our ancient nobility, quarrelſome as they were, ſoon preferred the arbitration

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one hundred and thirty gentlemen, who, in the time of Philip de Valois, held as feoffments, penſions from the royal treaſury. He hath alſo clearly proved what Mezerai* aſſerted before him, namely, that during more than three hundred years, the kingdom of France was governed as one grand fief; all the relations between the ſovereign and his ſubjects bearing likewiſe a re-

* *The chronological abridgment of the hiſtory of France, by Mezerai, a writer of the laſt century, is preferable to his larger work; and yet it is in many parts erroneous and confuſed. That the republican ſpirit which breathes in every page ſhould, in the opinion of the multitude, have outweighed the imperfections of this author, is not at all extraordinary. The generality of readers will be leſs apt to think with Chapelain, that by too violently pleading the cauſe of the people, Mezerai hath injured individuals, than to ſuppoſe with Amelot, that he hath given a ſincere hiſtory to France, and left behind him a lively picture of ancient liberty. He felt, however, that the language of freedom is not always uttered with impunity. Colbert, who thought that the account of the origin of the different kinds of taxes was drawn with too bold a pencil, like a true miniſter, took from Mezerai one half of his penſion. He murmured, and loſt the other half. Perſecution ſharpened his animoſity againſt every thing which aſſumed the likeneſs of an exciſe, and being an unguarded humouriſt, he was accuſtomed to obſerve, that he had hoarded up too golden crowns, coined in the reign of the good Lewis the Twelfth, with one of which he would purchaſe a ſeat at the* Grève, *during the execution of ſome officers of the revenue, whilſt with the other, he would procure liquor, and drink, on the ſpot, to the future good conſequences of their puniſhment.* K.

tration of the clergy, to thoſe atrocious deciſions, in which the conqueror often purchaſed, with his blood, an always barren advantage. The biſhops, who had already arrogated to themſelves a power equal to the power of the chief vaſſals; who had aſſiſted in all the parliaments, and ſignalized their authority by enterprizes againſt the crown, ſtill uſurped the right of judging. They had already intermeddled with every affair, which bore an indirect relation to religion; with

a relation to feoffments. Bruſſel grounds this opinion on theſe three eſſential points: firſt, that the epoch of the majority of the kings was fixed at the twenty-firſt year, which was alſo the age of the feodal majority. Secondly, that the king might hold fiefs from his ſubjects, and bind himſelf under certain conditions, ſuch as furniſhing a man to repreſent him and perform ſervice in his room. Thirdly, that the vaſſal to whom the king refuſed judgment in his court, might arm his vaſſals againſt him, and purſue the recovery of his right by force.

Mr. Hume (hiſt. of Engl. 8vo. vol. 2. p. 107.) obſerves alſo, on the ſubject of feoffments, that the feodal juriſprudence having been univerſally eſtabliſhed, and conſtituting the ſole juriſprudence, at that time generally acknowledged, the allodial proprietors were ſoon wearied with being expoſed to all the too common exceſſes of thoſe barbarous times, and preferred to an abſolute property, ſuch a limitted poſſeſſion, as enſured to them the protection of the ſovereign.

marriages, on account of the ſacrament; with wills, on account of pious legacies; and with treaties, on account of the oaths, by which they were uſually ratified. They, at length, adopted it as a general rule, that all proſecutions fell within their province, becauſe of two parties; the one party attacked, and the other party defended; the one party affirmed and the other party denied: now, either on one ſide, or on the other ſide, there muſt be guilt; therefore, &c. . . . . This logic is better than might be imagined; and they, perhaps, who are for tracing error, from another ſource, rather than from the firſt principle, were more ſubtile, but to the full as abſurd, as our anceſtors.

Yet, however this might have been, it happened that whilſt the church uſurped an authority over the ſecular powers, the pope uſurped an abſolute authority over the church; and as the firſt cuſtomary progreſs of deſpotiſm is manifeſted by an aſſault, ſo the popes had no ſooner diſciplined their militia, than they attacked the moſt reſpectable crowns. Hence aroſe that ſeries of wild, but frequently ſucceſsful, enterprizes; that profuſion of excommunications; thoſe kingdoms now ſeiz-

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ed on, and now diſtributed; thoſe coronations; thoſe depoſitions; and all the multitude of ridiculous and atrocious facts, at which the hiſtorian bluſhes, and the reader is concerned.

Here, let me reſt; it is not my intention to relate the events of ſuch unhappy times. The pencil of the maſter hath already drawn theſe fatal objects. What can be written after the eſſay on general hiſtory, by *Voltaire?* It is ſufficient for me to obſerve, that theſe haſty reflections have already run over the ſix firſt ages of our monarchy, and that they include preciſely the æra, which may be conſidered as the earlieſt *vegetation*, the progreſſive motion of manners and cuſtoms. It was then that each habitude began, that each principle received its birth. Let us call up the chief ideas which ſhould be engraven on our memory: the invaſion of the barbarians, a barbarous government; the uſurpation of ſome few, the uſurpation of a great number, a general tyranny; civil wars eſteemed lawful; the whole world in arms; all the earth ſprinkled with blood; ferocious chiefs, ſatiated with having worried each other, and at once the victims of abſurd credulity and

infamous debauchery, ſeeking in *Aſia*, an expiation for their crimes; the flower of the weſtern nations, and nearly all their riches periſhed on the ſands of *Paleſtine*; cultivation abandoned; the clergy alone profiting by this general, and blind infatuation, like thoſe hardened wretches, who rob wherever there are fires; in ſhort, all policy, divine and civil, violated, and aggravated by turns: ſuch is the picture in which human miſery and depravity ſeem carried to their utmoſt length; and it is preciſely on this repreſentation, that I would fix the obſervation of the reader. The twelfth century being paſſed, the motion is then retrograde: mankind begin to ſhew ſome gleams of hope: they are like the diſeaſed, who, after the laſt ſtage of a fever, feel ſome ſymptoms of a favorable criſis; yet only recover from a long agony, to breathe for a moment, and then relapſe. The malady which abates but by degrees, ſeems terrible in its returns, and every ſign becomes alarming, where convaleſcency is wanting.

Whilſt France was on the brink of deſolation, in conſequence of civil wars, piety came firſt to the aſſiſtance of humanity. The

paix

paix du Seigneur,(*b*) or *truce of God* gave riſe to a fantaſtical diviſion of the days of the week, ſome of which were devoted to a peaceful intercourſe, whilſt the reſt were ſet apart for ſlaughter. *Saint Lewis*, by the inſtitution of civil laws, equally pious as to their intent, moderated the privileges of war,

(*b*) The truce of God was eſtabliſhed under the reign of Henry the firſt of France, and in the year 1041, it was ſhrewdly imagined that nothing but the pretended interpoſition of a miracle, could in the leaſt have humaniſed barbarians; and therefore a biſhop of Aquitaine, committing a pious fraud, declared that an angel from heaven had delivered to him a writing, in which men were commanded to ceaſe from hoſtilities. As this impoſture was practiſed in a ſeaſon of public calamity, when even the worſt minds adopt ſome faint idea of the neceſſity of averting the divine vengeance, it was naturally received with a degree of reverence. Not to have relieved the tedious hours of penitence, with one ſweet interval of murder, had been too ample a conceſſion; the week was, therefore, abſurdly checquered with days of abſtinence and deſtruction. Private battles were prohibited by law, from the evening of each Wedneſday, until the morning of the enſuing Monday, in veneration of that portion of the week, which the Saviour hallowed with the laſt myſteries of his life; but as there were nearly three days, in which the religious compliment was unneceſſary, all thought themſelves at liberty, during that welcome period, to "Cry havock! and let looſe the dogs of war." K.

and in ſome meaſure, confined it, within a certain reſtraint.(c) *Philip the fair* went one ſtep farther: he forbad all perſons to aſſume this barbarous right, whilſt he exerciſed it himſelf; and pretended that whenſoever he waged war, it was entruſted ſolely to him, as by an excluſive power.(d) The eſtabliſhment of *Bailliages*,(e) and the progreſs of their juriſdictions under *Saint Lewis*, and his ſuc-

(c) The ordinance iſſued in 1245, by Saint Lewis, was called the royal quarantine, or truce. It forbad the next heirs of the perſon murdered, to revenge his death, until forty days after the commiſſion of the crime. Whoſoever tranſgreſſed this ſtatute, was to be tried, and puniſhed by the judge ordinary, as a traitor conſpiring againſt the public peace. K.

(d) This regulation of Philip the fair paſſed in 1296; and miſerable indeed muſt have been the lot of that nation, where it was the general wiſh that the ſovereign might be involved in war, leſt the nobles ſhould be ſuffered to renew their hoſtilities. K.

(e) As it was not poſſible either for the prince to decide every cauſe in perſon, or confine the determination of them to one court, Baillis were appointed. They held a monthly aſſize, at which they heared the complaints of the ſubjects, and adminiſtered juſtice to each; they watched, alſo, over the conduct of the provoſts of the nobles, and prevented their ſwerving from their duty. At the expiration of every four months, they delivered an account of their adminiſtration, and of the ſtate of their province, to the royal council. K.

ſucceſſors; the erection of different tribunals, in which the cauſes which were uſually decided by ſingle combat, were carried thither by appeal; enfranchiſements; the privileges granted to the commons, the firſt reſtitutions made to injured humanity; in ſhort, the national aſſemblies, where all claſſes of the citizens were repreſented, and where they might complain of grievances, and demand a remedy; theſe were the retrograde motions, by which ſuch frenzy approached to reaſon. And who is there that will not pity the condition of the people, when he perceives that their firſt laws are laws of pacification? in France, we may obſerve the *peace of God*, in England, the *peace of the king*, in Germany, the *peace of the public*, &c. The firſt conventions, to which it was neceſſary that theſe Beings, all ſimilar, all iſſuing from the ſame origin, ſhould agree, were no longer to kill each other.

It muſt, undoubtedly, be curious to trace the different paths, through which proceeded theſe returns to reaſon. *Abbé Teraſſon(f)* hath in-

(f) If I miſtake not, the Chevalier alludes to a treatiſe, entitled "the application of philoſophy, to every object

ingeniouſly remarked, that in the purſuit of methodical ſciences, application was all which was neceſſary to direct mankind to the diſcovery of truth; ſo that in their progreſs, they were conducted from ignorance to knowledge; whereas in logical ſciences, they were con-

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object of reaſon and underſtanding." In this field, Teraſſon hath gained more honour, than in his conteſt with the admirers of the immortal Homer. It hath been juſtly obſerved, that his "diſſertation againſt the Iliad," is full of paradoxes and whimſical ideas; a cluſter of falſe metaphyſics, in which he coldly analyſes what ſhould have been felt with tranſport. "Sethos," a moral romance, is written by this author. Although acknowledged to poſſeſs great merit, yet the reception which it met with in France, was not anſwerable to his expectations. This work muſt, however, be deemed valuable, ſo long as the character of the queen of Egypt ſhall continue to compoſe a part of it. Such a picture commands our approbation; and we are induced to think with d'Alembert, that "Tacitus muſt have admired it, and Plato have called on every ſovereign to view it with attention." Teraſſon tranſlated with much fidelity and elegance, Diodorus Siculus. He wrote, alſo, "reflections in favour of the ſyſtem of Mr. Law." The opulence to which the ſchemes of this remarkable adventurer had raiſed the good Abbé, was unable to corrupt the honeſt ſimplicity of his manners. "I will anſwer for myſelf, (ſaid he) as far as a million." His intimates would have anſwered for him, at far as twenty times the ſum. Teraſſon died in 1750. K.

conſtantly obliged to paſs through what was falſe, before they could arrive at what was true.(g) This reflection is not leſs applicable to politics, than to philoſophy. To remedy abſurdities, what abſurdities have been adopted! how rotten, how corrupted were the pillars, deſigned to prop ſuch tottering fabrics!

The feodal government exiſted in France, in England, in Germany, and in Italy, nearly in the ſame degree, and under the ſame forms. How were theſe ſtates, by the effect of ſimilar principles, thrown into ſuch different reſulting conſequences? theſe are aſtoniſhing circumſtances. Amidſt the ſhocks to which England was expoſed, the feodal ſyſtem maintained its ground; the great vaſſals took arms for the preſervation of their rights; they rendered thoſe rights more extenſive, more ſacred, and more decided: from hence, aroſe that government of property and repreſentation,

(g) It may with propriety be ſaid, that whenſoever the mind can make herſelf miſtreſs of the truth, the worſt is over. In this reſpect, ſhe reſembles a ſwallow, which, being confined within a room, ſtrikes itſelf an hundred times againſt the wainſcot, or the cieling, before it can diſcover the window, which ſome beneficient hand hath thrown open to facilitate its eſcape.

tion, that free and half-democratical government which ſubſiſts at preſent.

In France, far from maintaining the ancient conſtitution, new forms were introduced: the *ſtates general*, (where the whole nation, no longer repreſented by a military ariſtocracy, appeared in the perſons of its deputies,) were ſubſtituted in the place of, or, (if it be a more proper expreſſion) mingled with the feodal ſyſtem. In the room of thoſe *Clerks*, thoſe aſſeſſors who aſſiſted the *Suzerain*, or lord paramount, in the adminiſtration of juſtice, ſovereign courts were eſtabliſhed, which, being conſtant, and permanent, formed bodies of magiſtracy, and ſoon became the depoſitaries of the laws; the nation was accuſtomed to frequent aſſemblies, judges, and laws, and hence proceeded an abſolute monarchy.

In Germany, ignorance, ferocity, diſſention, and a rival ſpirit, kept alive by the balance of powers, were of longer duration, than elſewhere; force decided every thing, and amongſt the members of the ſtate, force was the perpetual alternative: where minds were ſo ſharpened by diviſions, no unanimity, no proſpect of reconciliation could ariſe, and

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hence proceeded the preſent *Germanic* government, that is to ſay, the moſt coherent and regular political ſyſtem.

In Italy, two tyrants, under the pretence that they were ſucceſſors, the one of the *Cæſars*, and the other of *Saint Peter*, inceſſantly contended for abſolute power; it was for univerſal monarchy, that they fought: after long wars, much ſcandal, and numerous atrocities, there aroſe a multitude of republics, and of little tyrants: a government ſimilar to the government of Greece, during the reign of *Alexander* and his ſucceſſors.

Theſe are exceedingly ſtrange events, and acting in direct oppoſition to their principles. To account for them, but few words are neceſſary. In England, the firſt complaints were made by the Great, againſt the Crown; in France, the firſt complaints were made by the Crown, and the People, againſt the Great; in Germany, the election of the Emperors having been confirmed, it became the means of confirming, in its turn, the rank to which all the Great might pretend, and the rights, which all the Great were willing to maintain; in Italy, the competition of Sovereigns, the viciſſitudes of their power, and,

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in particular, the inequality between their forces and their claims, allowed the weaker ſtates a time to riſe, and to ſecure themſelves. The ſuccours implored from every quarter, gave birth to an increaſe of privileges; amidſt theſe civil diſſentions, the cities eſtabliſhed their freedom, and nepotiſm augmented the principalities.

In England, the Great, armed againſt their kings, imagined it neceſſary to bring over to their party, the burghers, and, particularly the commercial towns. They ſtipulated for freſh privileges in favour of this order of citizens, already countenanced by the ſovereigns, who were deſirous (as was the caſe in France) of oppoſing them to the exorbitant power of the barons, and who were not wanting in making them pay for their immunities. The *Great Charter* having been acknowledged as a general law, and the execution of it inſured by the election of a certain number of guardians, always aſſembled, always in action, under the name of conſervators of the public liberties, (a wiſe precaution, to which this *Charter* is indebted for its permanence,) the barons were formed into two claſſes, the great

great barons, and the leſſer barons.(*h*) The public tranquility being ſettled, an attendance in parliament became burdenſome, and expenſive; the richeſt of the barons alone were able to ſupport it, and the leſſer barons, either neglected, or incurious as to public affairs, were ſoon blended with the ſimple knights,(*i*) and appeared more anxious to avoid a ſeat in parliament, than to enjoy the firſt rank in it. But the kings, conſtantly attentive to thoſe two important objects, the hu-

(*h*) See Hume's hiſt. of Engl. v. 2. pag. 85. &c.

(*i*) Knights of the ſhire. This is the origin of what the Engliſh call Gentry: but the idea which this word, in Engliſh, preſents to us, doth not at all correſpond with that idea, which we (the French) affix to it. After William had confiſcated all the Engliſh lands, and given them to the Normans, under the denomination of Baronies, or Grand-fiefs, the Normans converted ſeveral parts of their fiefs into ſub-feoffments, which gave riſe to the eſtabliſhment of vaſſals of a ſecond order. The firſt called Chief-tenants were in number about 700. The others, who held of the king knights fees, were in number 60,215. In point of origin, the relation ſeems to ſubſiſt between the two kingdoms; but in France ſub-feoffments did not imply degradation, ſince even the kings did homage to their ſubjects for their arriere-fiefs. The caſe was otherwiſe in England. And it is this which eſtabliſhed the difference between the nobility and gentry.

humiliation of the Great, and the increaſe of the revenue, conceived the expedient of oppoſing to the nobility, the competition of inferior powers. *Edward the firſt* directed the ſheriffs, or firſt magiſtrates of the counties, to return two knights, or gentlemen of each county, to parliament; theſe laſt did not diſdain to ſit with the burgeſſes;(*k*) the two orders acted as if they were mutually engaged in one common cauſe; they preſented petitions, plans of reformation, &c. The kings having attended to them, they acquired ſtability from ſucceſs; and thus, by degrees, was formed the *Houſe of Commons*, which of all portions of the Britiſh government, is the portion the moſt founded on reaſon, and the moſt favourable to property.

What ſtreams of blood have flowed to cement the edifice we now behold! an edifice at

(*k*) It was, however, long before the knights and burgeſſes compoſed the ſame houſe: if we can credit Mr. Carte, who was exceedingly circumſpect in his examination of the parliamentary rolls, theſe two orders were not united, until the 16th of Ed. 3. (ſee hiſt. v. 2. p. 451.) even at a more advanced period, in the reign of Richard the ſecond, their union was not final. (See Cotton, p. 193. . . . Hume, hiſt. vol. 2. 8vo. p. 286. K.

at once magnificent and ſolid, but which riſes on a Gothic baſis, and the proportions of which arraign its rude original. And yet how ſtrikingly ſoever the ſhapeleſs plan of its foundations, and thoſe beauties with which it hath been ſince adorned, may be contraſted, it preſents to us a kind of unity, or rather of continuity. It is the front of the old *Louvre*, decorated with the colonnade of *Perrault*;(*l*) but it is not that confuſed heap of

(*l*) The entrance into the Louvre, the model of the triumphal arch at the end of the Fauxbourg Saint Antoine, and the obſervatory, may probably tranſmit the name of Perrault to ſome more diſtant æra, in which the wretched ſatire of Boileau ſhall have been totally forgotten: ſurely, wit, humour, judgment, and every thing but ill nature, deſerted the French Juvenal, when he compoſed this vulgar line;

"Soyez plutôt maçon, ſi c'eſt vôtre tâlent."

The attempt which Boileau made to rob this architect of the reputation of having planned ſuch true monuments of his taſte, was an involuntary confeſſion that he admired his works, though he diſliked the artiſt, Perrault was an excellent mechanic, and a ſkilful phyſician: in the latter character, Boileau acknowledged that he had ſaved his life. How grateful the good poet was, the reader hath already ſeen. Perrault died in 1688. His "tranſlation of Vitruvius," with notes, and his "account of ſeveral machines," of his own invention, are valuable works. K.

paltry buildings, of ſhops and mean houſes, tacked to, or rather mixed with an ancient palace; it is not that incredible irregularity, ſtill perceptible in our capital, and our polity..... I explain myſelf.

We muſt have perceived how the government of England hath been inſenſibly modified, by conſtantly preſerving the firſt principles of its conſtitution, *the King and the Parliament.* The parliament is, indeed, divided into two houſes, but if the commons acquire a power equal to the power of the lords, this is always the reſult of the ſame ſyſtem, a new branch ſhooting forth from the ſame trunk. In France, the caſe is totally different. The people, harraſſed by the tyranny of the Great, and a general anarchy, had recourſe to the royal authority. The heroic actions of Philip Auguſtus, and the moral virtues of Saint Lewis, juſtified this confidence: but Philip the Fair, a raſh politician, an ambitious monarch, and an inſatiable ſovereign, ſoon rendered the people ſenſible of their deluſion.

Before I proceed farther, it may be neceſſary to remark, that the feodal government of France differed from the feodal government

ment of England, in that, this laſt had preſerved its aſſemblies, or parliaments. Now, aſſemblies are the ſources of all liberty; it is immaterial what the laws and cuſtoms are; every nation which is repreſented, every body which is aſſembled, muſt, in the end, acquire a great political power. In France, the new feodal government, or (not to loſe the idea) the feodal government of the ſecond epocha, had been much more ſucceſsful, in deſtroying every trace of the ancient feodal government. When Philip the Fair, therefore, in conſequence of his extortions, his alterations of the coin, and his diſputes with the court of Rome, imagined it neceſſary to convene the nation, he was led to the introduction of three novelties, which have occaſioned his reign to be looked upon as a very intereſting epoch in hiſtory. Firſt, he aſſembled the nation, under a civil form, which bore no reſemblance to thoſe parliaments, to thoſe fields of May, from whence iſſued the laws of the Merovingians and the Carlovingians.(*m*) Secondly, he ſummoned

(*m*) Paſquier, in his "Recherches de la France," doth not expreſs any very great eſteem for theſe new States-general. Every aſſembly (he obſerves) was become

the order of Burghers to his aſſembly, and gave them the title of the *third Eſtate*. Laſtly, he eſtabliſhed, nearly about the ſame time, in four parts of his kingdom, ſettled courts of juſtice, which we now call parliaments.

It appears that in France, as in England, the nobility were likely to loſe ſome influence by the intervention of the third eſtate, in the adminiſtration of public affairs; but in return, much was wanting, to enable our commons to arrive at that conſequence, which was

become notorious, on account of ſome national ſacrifice; and if it be pretended, that the councils have all lopped away ſomething, from the papal authority; it may be remarked, that the States-general have all yielded ſomething, to the avarice of kings.

Of the "Recherches," &c. the folio edition, printed in 1665, is the beſt. A livelineſs of imagination, peculiar to the author, makes us endure the antiquated roughneſs of his ſtile. When he praiſes, as when he cenſures, he is frequently too violent; yet much of what he advances may be relied on. His "Catechiſm of the Jeſuits," will be admired by all, except themſelves. Garaſſe, a brother of the order, inſulted his memory, in a book, called, "Recherches des recherches," with a degree of virulence, which bordered on inſanity. Paſquier lived to an advanced age, and died in 1615. He was attorney-general to the chamber of accounts, under Henry the Third. K.

was enjoyed by the commons of England. There, they had for their model, for their object of emulation, the houſe of peers, whoſe power was conſtant and acknowledged. With us, the commons ſeemed aſtoniſhed at the part which they were to play; like ſome inferior, admitted to the table of a great man, they thought themſelves obliged to repay, with mean flattery, the new honour conferred upon them. Beſides, the ſtates were but ſeldom called together; their meeting was alſo dependant on the will of the ſovereign, who was cautious of convening them, unleſs he had the ſtrongeſt reaſons to imagine, that they would be all compliance; or unleſs the public affairs were ſo urgent, that no time could be ſacrificed to debates. Thus then, theſe aſſemblies rather contributed to ſhake the feodal government, than to eſtabliſh a repreſentative government; and the royal power alone profited by theſe alterations.

Nevertheleſs a counterpoiſe, a new reſiſtance aroſe from the midſt of this authority. The counſellors of the king, his aſſiſtants in the diſpenſation of juſtice, whom he had ſelected from the three orders of the ſtate, to

ſecond him in this function, (I ſpeak of him, as Sovereign, and Lord Paramount) the perſons, in ſhort, who compoſed the royal court, were ſoon converted into a ſettled tribunal; the commiſſions of theſe counſellors, which at firſt were removeable, having been rendered perpetual, the parliament perceived themſelves erected into a body, which derived dignity from their employments, and weight from their ſtability. They were alſo a freſh check on the nobility; for prejudice and ignorance kept the Great, at a diſtance from the magiſtracy; whilſt the judges of the third eſtate, whom they eclipſed, were inveſted with the whole adminiſtration of public affairs, and unable to equal, ſought at leaſt to humble them.

The next ſtep was to lower the aſcendancy of the clergy. Clerks and biſhops enjoyed ſeats in parliament; as they were better inſtructed than the barons, they were more embarraſſing to the members of the law. And theſe, anxious to monopolize knowledge, were for removing ſuch troubleſome competitors. Thus, from the very origin of the parliament, ſprang up that antipathy againſt the clergy, which, in length of time, became

came the ſafety of the ſtate: but this is foreign to the ſubject, and it is ſufficient to advert to it.

To return, therefore, we may obſerve that the government of France hath, amidſt its variations, loſt many more traces of its original, than the government of England. If the reader be deſirous of forming a juſt idea of the government of France, he muſt never forget that the parliaments, or aſſemblies in the field of May, the States-general of *Philip the Fair*, and his ſucceſſors, and the courts of juſtice, known at preſent by the name of parliaments, are three objects which do not bear the leaſt relation to each other.

In Germany, the feodal government, having been maintained in its full ſyſtem, and even with ſome kind of exaggeration, it is eaſy for us to form an idea of it. The ſtate of Germany is what the ſtate of France muſt have proved, had the crown been elective, had Philip Auguſtus, and Saint Lewis, neglected to protect the people againſt the tyranny of the barons; in ſhort, had public and ſolemn acts, ſuch as the *Golden Bull*, the *profane peace*, the *peace of religion*, and the *Imperial capitulations*, defined and ſettled the

chief rights of the Prince and the Nation. The German empire may be conſidered as a great Club(*n*) of ſovereigns, who have ſubjected themſelves to ſtrict rules and choſen one of their number to take the great chair, and act as preſident. The rights of the princes are ſpecified with tolerable preciſion; the rights of the people are the moſt frequently neglected. Some little uſurpation is eaſily ſuppreſſed; but if a powerful vaſſal enters the liſts, the armies alone are to decide privileges, with this ſingle difference, that they are preceded by a ſtronger advanced guard of *manifeſtos*, *dehortations*, &c. There, as elſewhere, may be perceived a mixture of cuſtom and of reaſon, ſome laws preſerved becauſe they were good, and others becauſe they were ancient. The peace of *Munſter* and the capitulation of *Francis the Firſt*, are works

(*n*) A ſet of Engliſhmen, who generally meet in taverns and coffeehouſes. The rules of theſe ſocieties are always written, and hung up in the club-room. There, as in moſt other Engliſh aſſemblies, a preſident is named, who ſits in an elevated arm chair, and who, by his office, ſomewhat reſembles their Speaker of the Houſe of Commons. The reader muſt have recollected the charming papers on this ſubject, written by Steele and Addiſon, in the Spectator.

works of reflection, which maintain their ſplendour, amidſt works of prejudice, as a fine ſtatue preſerves its beauties, though confined within an old lumber room. The queſtion is, whether the Germanic government renders the people more happy. I agree that it may prevent the *Count de la Lippe* from killing the deer of the *Count de Waldeck*; and the *Count de Neurvied* from coining baſe money; but it alſo deprives Germany of fine roads, of canals, of arts, and of riches. It maintains more than an hundred little courts, but ſuffers the people to languiſh under oppreſſion. Here, guard-houſes ſupply the place of manufacturies; and when we have ſeen *Frails*, canoneſſes, centinels and game-keepers, we may form ſome idea of the greater part of Germany.

As to Italy, alternately torn and divided by emperors, popes, Normans, kings of Arragon and kings of France, its only claim to our notice ariſes from its preſenting us with two celebrated republics, one of which is equally powerful and conſtant in its principles. The reader will at once gueſs, that I mean the republic of Venice: but this reſpectable commonwealth, ſituated between the Turk, the pope,

pope, and the emperor, ſhould have formed its conſtitution, agreeably to its political ſituation. Ariſing from the midſt of the waters, and almoſt within the boſom of the ocean, its origin was owing to fear, its preſervation to miſtruſt. To keep the people in ignorance, and ſlavery, to ſcatter diviſions ſuſpicions and accuſations amongſt the ſenators, to act inceſſantly as if the next inſtant, or the day following, were to open with a conſpiracy, to change the adminiſtration into a formidable polity, are the principles which Venice drew from her dangers, and to which ſhe ſtill adheres, in the moments of tranquility, and ſucceſs.

Meanwhile, let us propoſe theſe queſtions. What hath been the origin of all which exiſts at preſent? What ſyſtem could have been raiſed on the foundations which remained to us? Our governments, our conſtitutions have taken their ſource from barbariſm itſelf, and were formed in ignorance. Our monarchies are old, but our reaſon is ſtill young. Let us reflect on the darkneſs which hath covered the earth, from Conſtantine to the Medicis; the bright days of Athens, and of Rome, have been ſucceeded by a night of

of twelve hundred years. But unlike the wakening of Epimenides, hath been the wakening of philoſophy. Scarcely had the agreeable arts rouſed her from her ſlumber, ſcarcely were her eyes opened, when ſhe perceived that things were hovering near the ſame point, where ſhe had left them. In the time of Conſtantine, the rational ſciences were neglected, and the ſtudy of nature gave place to the ſtudy of words. All minds were poſſeſſed with a paſſion for frivolous controverſies, and empty ſubtleties. This too was the caſe, about the ſixteenth century. Scarcely had mankind begun to think, and to write, when the firſt bloſſoms of reaſon were nipped by theological and metaphyſical diſputes. It may be ſaid, that from Eraſmus, to Deſcartes, the human underſtanding was engaged in little elſe, but ſharpening its faculties. It will, however, be proper, before we purſue theſe reflections, to fix our attention, for a moment, on the paſt ages, and to enquire what was the condition of ſociety, under the government of our anceſtors.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The Lot of Humanity at the beginning of the French monarchy, and under the feodal government.

THIS chapter will be ſhort: where the ſubject is ſo ſtriking, and ſo eaſy to be inveſtigated, it were injurious to the reader, to deem it neceſſary to aſſiſt his judgment. In fact, it is not our buſineſs, in this place, to complain againſt the enthuſiaſtic admiration of the paſt ages. It was requiſite to have recourſe to argument, in advancing that *Lycurgus Solon*, and *Numa*, did not diſcover the beſt poſſible ſyſtem of legiſlation; but, is a long diſcuſſion wanting to make *us*, the other ſcarcely

ſcarcely civilized *Welſh(a)*, deplore our infancy, eſteem our puberty, and conceive hopes of our maturity?

The French monarchy, eſtabliſhed by war, ſeems to have been devoted to a perpetual war. The diviſions of dominions, thoſe ridiculous teſtaments by which our princes bequeathed their kingdoms, like their trinkets, have proved a ſource of boundleſs quarrels, in the proſecution of which, the ties of blood have been defiled with blood, uncles have murdered nephews, brothers have torn each other in pieces, and aſſaſſinations, and pitched battles have, by turns, contended for the diſpoſal of the throne. Scarcely were theſe ſanguinary and divided members re-united under the ſame chief, when this chief became

(o) *Wallen*, or *Welſch*, a term in the Teutonic language, ſignifying *ſtrangers*, hath been ſometimes applied to the ancient inhabitants of France, the Celtæ, or as they were called afterwards by the Romans, the Gauls. The Saxons gave the appellation of Welſh to our South-Britons, ſeveral of whom, not underſtanding the Engliſh tongue, are ignorant that their country is named Wales, and ſtile it *Cycary*, or the ancient land. Many other nations, alſo, underſtood by the word Welſh, bodies of emigrants, (as the Gauls frequently were) driven either by neceſſity, or choice, in queſt of new ſettlements. K.

came abandoned; and, as in Poland, when the equeſtrian order terminate their conflicts, the ſervants of the Great engage in ſome inferior ſkirmiſh, ſo, in France, when kings had been ſubdued, the parties, to ſupport the broils of their domeſtics, ruſhed on to mutual deſtruction. This was not all: whilſt the nation was exhauſted, and ambitious Mayors ſtill diſputed for the reins of power, a troop of northern plunderers poured in, to bear away thoſe riches, which proved the whole of their poſſeſſions. The monks, and prieſts, whoſe cunning conſtantly increaſes in proportion to the extreme ignorance of the people, had found time, whilſt the ſoldiers were fighting, to amaſs all the treaſures. This facility of diſcovering vaſt riches collected together, and of making ſuch lucky ſtrokes, held out a temptation to invaſion, and effected the ruin of France, continually deſtined to be the victim of religion. It was in vain that a great prince aroſe. The glorious honour conferred on Charlemagne, whoſe name adorns the calendar, but whoſe canonization did not render the people happier, hath been cruelly requited in the events of the ſucceeding reigns. Soon, the monarchy,

narchy, ſplit into a thouſand pieces, produced war and calamity under a thouſand different forms. At length, anarchy became ſomewhat moderated, and ſeemed under the firſt kings of the *Capetian* race to be reſolved into ſome kind of ſyſtem. Then, might have been perceived the dawnings of a ſtate, a nation; but the frenzy for engaging in the *Cruſades* ſtarted up to obſtruct its progreſs, and plunged humanity into new misfortunes. The flower of the *Weſtern* people, taking with them whatſoever riches they poſſeſſed, prepared to meet death in *Paleſtine*. This fury became epidemical; it inflamed even that timid age, the diſtinguiſhing marks of which are gentleneſs and imbecility: armies of children abandoned their country, and went alſo to periſh immaturely in the Eaſt, like thoſe ſwarms of locuſts which, driven by the wind propitious to the labourers, are drowned within the boſom of the waters. But when the minds of men were once on fire, it was not neceſſary that the tomb of *Chriſt* ſhould have adminiſtered fuel to their zeal. Muſt we call up the ſhocking expedition of *Simon de Montfort* againſt the *Albigenſes*; (ſixty thouſand ſouls ſlaughtered within

in one city, *(p)* ſeven thouſand of whom fled for ſhelter into the church) and that abominable ſeries of barbarities, which outſtripped the exceſſes of the other *Cruſades*, as every civil war is more cruel than an exterior war.....

Amidſt

(p) Beziers; when the Cruſaders began the aſſault, they aſked the abbot of Citeaux, how they were to diſtinguiſh the Catholics from the heretics? His reply was, "kill all, God will know his own."

"As mildneſs could only have irritated the Albigenſes, Simon de Montfort, the Gideon of the Lord, to ſpread a ſalutary terror amongſt the reſt, condemned every priſoner either to the fire, or the ſword. How was this celeſtial Sagittarius dreaded by thoſe heretics, againſt whom the thunderbolt of Papal excommunications had been ſo juſtly darted! The pious catholics revered him as a demi-god. Having been wounded in the thigh, by an arrow ſhot from the walls of Thouloufe, which he was then beſieging, he would have retired to his tent, when a woman diſcharged a ſtone at him from a mangonel, or petrary, with ſuch violence, that his head was quite ſevered from his body. Thus fell this valiant, wiſe, and worthy man, deſerving of a nobler fate. So ardent was his zeal, ſo pure was his devotion, that we may compare him to the flames ariſing from the ſacred incenſe, the firſt, and lateſt ſparks of which perfume and grace the altars of the deity."..... The indignation of the reader is already rouſed, and the leaſt comment on this deteſtable deſcription is unneceſſary: that it was written ſo lately as in the laſt century, ſeems a melancholy proof, that

of

Amidſt this alternative of diſtant calamities, and interior troubles, the ſole hope of France, the ſole humane and bountiful king,(q) attacked in his turn by the general contagion, grew eager to depart, and bury in Egypt, himſelf, his family, and his treaſures. When

of every ſpecies of inhuman prejudices, the prejudices of religion are the moſt inextinguiſhable. The above-cited account is an unexaggerated tranſlation from the abridgment of the life of Simon de Montfort, written by Mr. De la Colombiere, and inſerted in "Les hommes illuſtres, et grands capitaines François," folio. Paris 1690. It is not eaſy to determine what the hereſy of the Albigenſes was: by the multitude of their names, we may gueſs at the multitude of their errors: they were Paulicians, Manicheans, Bulgarians, Henricians, Petrobruſſians, Waldenſes, &c. in ſhort, under the term Albigenſes, the Latins comprehended all the adverſaries of his Holineſs the pope. To aſcertain the moſt flagrant crimes of theſe ſectaries, is a matter of leſs difficulty: they had inveighed againſt ſome abſurdities in the doctrines of the church of Rome, and cenſured the corrupted manners of her eccleſiaſtics. Such guilt is not within the pale of abſolution. K.

(q) Saint Lewis, the ninth. The character of this prince, drawn by Mr. Gaillard, in his third volume of "La rivalité de la France, et de l'Angleterre," is too long to be inſerted in a note. The length, however, will not be objected to in its proper ſituation. When pictures are ſo highly finiſhed, we rather wiſh that they were leſs contracted, than think they fill too large a ſpace. K.

reſtored to his native country, he conceived an averſion from the poſt of legiſlator, reſolved to take the order of *Jacobins*, and reviſiting the ſands of *Africa*, expired before *Tunis*, his body having, by his own directions, been previouſly extended on the aſhes. Wars waged againſt the empire, and the *Flemings*, to which may be added the inteſtine wars of the great vaſſals, continued to imbrue mankind in blood, until a more extenſive theatre of carnage and affliction was opened at the acceſſions of Philip and Edward. The French governed, at one time, by a raſh king, and at another time, by a politic knave, had ſcarcely accompliſhed their emancipation from the yoke of foreigners, when they relapſed into the rage of making conqueſts. In Italy, they ſaw a new Paleſtine. A great diſpute aroſe between the kings of France, and the houſe of Auſtria, a diſpute which cannot properly be ſaid to have terminated, until the treaty of Utrecht, or, in other words, the treaty of Verſailles. The wars of religion united themſelves to the wars of ambition, and France ſcarcely eſcaped from the Engliſh, was deſolated by the Germans, the Swiſs, and the Spaniards. In ſhort, from Clovis,

Clovis, to Lewis the fourteenth, I can no where perceive a ſituation of affairs, which might be conſidered as a real peace, but in the interval between the treaty of Vervins, and the death of Henry the fourth.(r)

To the calamities, which ſuch frenzy occaſioned, we may join alſo thoſe calamities which derived their ſource from ignorance. Medicine, and the ſtudy of phyſic having been neglected, mankind were left a prey to every diſorder which "*fleſh is heir to.*"(s) A terrible diſtemper, produced by miſery and uncleanlineſs, the *leproſy*, became epidemical in France.

We may perceive that Lewis the eighth bequeathed an hundred crowns to each of the two thouſand *Lazar-houſes* within his kingdom. Allowing twenty patients to each hoſpital, forty thouſand wretched lepers might have been found within a ſtate, not ſo extenſive by one-third, as France is at preſent.

(r) The treaty of Vervins was concluded by the kings of France and Spain, on the ſecond of May 1598. Henry the fourth was aſſaſſinated on the fourteenth of May 1610; ſo that this "real peace," was but of ſhort duration. K.

(s) Shakeſpeare, in Hamlet.

Commerce, which intereſt precedes, but which reaſon always follows, durſt not appear before the French, or appeared only for a moment, having been either perſecuted by fanaticiſm, or plundered by avarice. When *Jaques Cœur*(*t*) produced ſome ſpecimens of the

(*t*) Jaques Cœur, a native of Bourges, and of obſcure parentage, was treaſurer to Charles the ſeventh. In very few years, he became one of the richeſt ſubjects in Europe; whether by extortion, or indefatigable purſuits of commerce, is not ſo eaſy to determine. I ſhall take the faireſt ſide of the queſtion, and leave the proofs of his guilt to Abbé de Freſnoy,† who doth not appear to have redeemed him from any crime, except the poiſoning of Agnes Sorel. When Charles undertook the conqueſt of Normandy, he borrowed two hundred thouſand gold crowns from Jaques Cœur, which, in thoſe times, were an immenſe ſum. As a merchant, he tranſacted buſineſs in all parts of the world; with the Turks and the Perſians in the Eaſt, and with the Saracens in Africa. A multitude of his veſſels were conſtantly out upon the ſeas, and three hundred factors, divided into the neceſſary numbers, were ſtationed at the different ports, to wait their arrival. The courtiers took the advantage of his abſence, on an embaſſy at Lauſanne, and plotted his deſtruction. On his return, he was impriſoned, tried, and ſentenced to make the *amende honorable*, and forfeit a thouſand crowns. As his

† *See* "*Philoſophie hermetique*," &c. 1742, *v.* 1. *p.* 248. *&c.*

the advantages which might have reſulted from it, inſtead of exciting an attachment to this uſeful profeſſion, they awakened a barbarous envy. He was obliged to fly from the people whom he had enriched, and leave

his accuſers were ſharers in the ſpoil, it is more than probable that his puniſhment was rather the conſequence of *their* avarice, than of *his* guilt. His having reſtored to a Turk, a Chriſtian ſlave, who had quitted and treacherouſly betrayed his maſter, was one capital accuſation; another flagrant crime was the ſelling of arms to a Sultan of Egypt. In both theſe inſtances, he was convicted; they ſtruck at the religious ſpirit of the times, in which it was not poſſible (to uſe the fine expreſſion of the Pſalmiſt,) for "*righteouſneſs and peace to kiſs each other.*" In the gratitude of his agents, Cœur found a refuge from the ſeverity of his perſecutors. The voluntary aſſeſſments to which his friends agreed, were the means of ſupplying him, during his impriſonment, not only with neceſſaries, but with ſuperfluities. His eſcape from the convent of Cordeliers, at Beaucaire, was at length effected by his nephew, who conducted him ſafely to Rome. Pope Calixtus the third gave him the command of a fleet againſt the Turks, with which he ſailed to Chios, and died on his arrival, in 1456. The little remainder of his effects was afterwards beſtowed on his children, in conſideration of the ſervices of their Father. The account of his having eſtabliſhed himſelf in the iſle of Cyprus, engaged again in commerce, and married a ſecond wife, by whom he had daughters, is proved to be groundleſs, in a diſſertation,

to Lombards, and to Jews, the care of avenging his cauſe. Theſe laſt, more odious to the Chriſtians, were frequently treated with incredible ſeverity; yet it was not recollected that they had crucified the Son of God, until God had permitted them to become rich.(*u*) In

tation written by Bonami, member of the academy of inſcriptions, and belles lettres. Mr. de Voltaire hath either not ſeen this memoir, or having ſeen it, hath choſen to diſſent from it: he obſerves that Jaques Cœur followed commerce in Cyprus. K.

(*u*) I do not recollect the king of England,† who, having demanded from a Jew, a ſum of money which he declared himſelf unable to advance, threw him into priſon, and directed that a certain number of his teeth ſhould be drawn every day, until he had reſolved to give up his all. This barbarity was then common, and is an example of the manners of the *good old time*. As to the reſt, it appears that the Engliſh were acquainted earlier than the French, with the advantages of commerce, and agriculture. This is evident from a law of Athelſtan, a prince of the Saxon dynaſty, enacting that every merchant who had made three long ſea voyages, on his own account, and every huſbandman who was able to purchaſe five hides of land, ſhould be raiſed to the rank of a Thane, which was ſomewhat ſimilar to the rank of a Baron. See Hume's Hiſt. of England, 8vo. Vol. I. App. p. 224.

† *This was king John, who demanded ten thouſand marks of ſilver, from a Jew at Briſtol, and, on his refuſal, gave orders that one of his teeth ſhould be drawn daily, until he complied. At the loſs of a ſeventh tooth, his reſolution failed him, and he advanced the money. See M. Paris. p.* 160. *Stowe. p.* 168. K.

In ſhort, to conclude this melancoly picture, we may aſſert, that an intolerant ſpirit hath raged in France, as violently as in any other ſtate whatever, although the inquiſition was not eſtabliſhed until the time of the Albigenſes. But whilſt the courts were infected with fanaticiſm, the princes and their miniſters became themſelves inquiſitors; and it is of little conſequence whether we refer to Charles the ninth, or to the pope. I ſhall not, here, recall to mind the maſſacre on the evening of Saint Bartholomew, nor that long ſeries of tragedies, which ſucceeded it. I will not add, as an apology for France, that during the exceedingly ſhort reign of Mary, eight hundred heretics were burned in England; and that it hath been calculated that under Philip the ſecond more than forty thouſand perſons periſhed on the ſcaffold, for the ſake of religion. All theſe facts are too well known; they have been deſtined to excite the horror of future ages, by that aſtoniſhing hand, which holds at once the pallet of Rembrandt, and the pencil of Albano.(x) It will, therefore, be ſufficient for me, to

(x) Mr. de Voltaire.

conclude this chapter, with ſome reflections on what is called, *the good old time.*

From whence can proceed this frenzy for exalting the paſt ages, at the expence of blackening the age in which we live? undoubtedly from ſelf-love, which finds a double ſatisfaction in this conduct, firſt, from the compariſon which we form between ourſelves and the men whom we condemn; and ſecondly, from that ſtill more ſtrikingly marked ſuperiority, which aſſigns to us a knowledge of preceding times, whilſt we appear in ſome meaſure to aſſimilate with them, by pronouncing their eulogy. We apply to antiquity thoſe ideas which we have entertained of conſanguinity. The eldeſt imagine themſelves more nearly related to it, by a degree; they lay claim to a ſhare of its honours, and cry it up before the riſing generation. *(y)* We are but ſeldom jealous of the virtues of our anceſtors; by knowing them, we ſuppoſe ourſelves to be more enlightened; by praiſing them, we conceive that we are more wiſe. On the contrary, we are dazzled by the virtues of our

(y) . . . . . : Laudator temporis acti
Se puero. . . . . .

HORAT.

our own age, and ſeem afraid of facing them.(z) This error of ſelf-love, this contempt of ſentiment, to borrow the ingenious language of a modern philoſopher, is what the wiſe would only ſmile at, were it not productive of the greateſt detriment to the progreſs of human reaſon. What, in fact, can be more diſcouraging than this perſuaſion, that as we proceed, we conſtantly become worſe? What can be more dangerous, than never to aim at recovering us from our faults, but by a reference to thoſe times, in which the uſeful ſciences not being ſufficiently expanded, mankind could only have acted right, by chance, or by inſtinct? Let us unravel this idea.

A war is entered upon under bad auſpices; the campaign is unfortunately conducted; the particular officers too attentive to their private intereſts, in the maintenance of the troops, and the generals too anxious about their equipages, their accommodations, and their parade, have neglected the preſervation of order and diſcipline; the ſervice is coldly followed, without emulation, and without re-

(z) Quod naturaliter audita viſis laudamus libentius, et præſentia invidiâ, præterita veneratione proſequimur; et his nos obrui, illis inſtrui credimus. Vellei. Paterc.

regularity; depredation, a ſpirit of fraud, and robbery infect every branch of the adminiſtration; defeats, and conſiderable loſſes are the fruits of this relaxation; the ſoldiers become diſheartened, and the citizens diſcontented. . . . . Some remedy muſt be applied; but whilſt good minds ſeek for this remedy, in the eſtabliſhment of a natural and eaſy diſcipline, in thoſe meaſures which tend to connect the welfare of particulars, with the general welfare, in that innocent artifice which, by placing honour between ambition and fortune, gives a kind of variety to the paſſions, and, in ſhort, in the appointment of an able general, whoſe ſtrict attention to his duty may correct this almoſt univerſal remiſſneſs, every common-place reaſoner flies about, repeating that the national ſpirit is quite loſt. Their conſtant cry is, where are *Coucy*, *Chatillon* and *Bayard?*(a) They imagine

(a) The houſe of Coucy hath produced ſo many illuſtrious perſonages, that I cannot poſitively aſſure the reader to what branch of the family the Chevalier alludes. He, perhaps, means the great Enguerrand de Coucy, who, after having performed prodigies of valour, at the ſiege of Nicopolis, in 1396, under Sigiſmond, king of Hungary, was, with many officers of note,

gine that they can call back the bravery of the paſt times, and re-produce it, by theſe idle

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note, taken priſoner. I am thrown, by the numerous heroes of the name of Chatillon, into the ſame dilemma, but ſhall chooſe Gaucher de Chatillon, the conſtable of France, under ſix princes: The defeat of Henry, count de Bar, the battle of Courtrai, and the ſiege of St. Omer, have been mentioned as ſignal inſtances of that intrepidity, and conduct, by which he roſe to eminence, in ſeveral other actions of equal note. Such martial ardour ſeemed extinguiſhable only with life, for long after the period, at which retirement would have been honorable, he was reaping freſh laurels in the field. When he fought by the ſide of Philip de Valois, at the battle of Caſſel, he had reached his eightieth year. This was his laſt exploit. He died on his return from Flanders, in 1329. The warm admirers of the "*good old times*" are much to blame, if they forget the Chevalier de Bayard. When they enlarge on ſuch a character, thoſe moderns muſt be prejudiced, indeed, who could refuſe their tribute of applauſe. I am convinced the reader will forgive me, ſhould I be more particular in my account of this uncommon hero. "*The knight without fear, and without reproach*" was the title by which he was uſually diſtinguiſhed. He attended Lewis the twelfth, and Ferdinand of Spain, during that ſhort war of four months, which terminated in the conqueſt of Naples. At a battle, fought in that kingdom, he is ſaid to have defended, like another *Cocles*, the paſs of a narrow bridge, against two hundred of the enemy. When Francis the firſt attacked the Swiſs, at Marignan, de Bayard, who charged always neareſt

to

idle exaggerations, as if a loyal attachment to a gracious and beloved king could be increaſed by the ſuggeſtion, that formerly the

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to his ſovereign, diſplayed ſuch marks of proweſs, that, when the victory was gained, he was rewarded with one of the higheſt honours, which it was poſſible for a ſubject to receive. Francis condeſcended to accept from his hand, the order of knighthood, in all the forms of ancient chivalry. The defence of Mezieres is alone ſufficient to give a full idea of the military merit of De Bayard: it was ill fortified, and inveſted by a numerous army of the Imperialiſts. Francis would have burnt it, but the Chevalier obſerved that "*no place was weak, "where the ſoldiers were ſufficiently intrepid to protect it.*" This gallant remark was juſtified by the event. The Imperialiſts were, in the end, compelled to raiſe a tedious ſiege with equal infamy and loſs. At the famous retreat, near the banks of the Seſſia, de Bayard, whilſt he was ſuſtaining, with a ſmall body of troops, the whole ſhock of the enemy, received a mortal wound. "*Place me*, (ſaid the dying hero) *againſt this tree, that "I may ſtill front our foes, for, having never yet turned "my back upon them, I will not begin to do it in my laſt "moments.*" He then ſent word to Francis that "*if "he felt it painful to part with life, it was only becauſe "he could no longer ſerve his prince.*" The Conſtable de Bourbon, who, at the head of an advanced body, was purſuing the French, rode up to him, and declared how much he pitied his misfortune. "*Preſerve* (replied the "Chevalier) *thy pity for yourſelf: it is you who are the "proper object of it; you, who turn your arms againſt "your king, and Country. I need not your compaſſion I "fall*

the Burgeſſes of Calais adored a wicked prince.(*b*) Such

"*fall as I have lived, the faithful ſervant of my So-*
"*vereign, and his People.*" He, ſhortly afterwards, expired, kiſſing with religious reverence the croſs of his ſword. His body was embalmed, and ſent to Grenoble, his native city. The corpſe was received with royal honours, as it paſſed through the dominions of the Duke of Savoy, and the nobility attended it to the frontiers. K.

(*b*) Philip de Valois may truly be ſtiled an incapable, and a tyrannical prince. His ill-conducted adminiſtration of affairs, whether foreign, or domeſtic, is a full proof of his incapacity. The great number of his ſubjects, who periſhed, in conſequence of his illegal judgments, muſt convince us that he was a tyrant. He was the chief cauſe of thoſe misfortunes which France felt until the reign of Charles the ſeventh. As to the reſt, theſe reflections cannot, by any conſtructions whatſoever, be ſuppoſed to attack the merit of a dramatic author,† equally to be reſpected for his talents, and his

† *If I miſtake not, the dramatic author is Mr. de Bellay, who, ſome years ſince, produced his celebrated "Siege of Calais." On this gentleman, the king of France beſtowed the gold medal, long before intended for the perſon who ſhould write the beſt tragedy on that ſubject. His Chriſtian majeſty not only preſented Mr. de Bellay with a thouſand crowns, but permitted him to dedicate his piece to him. Although the peruſal of this play can never throw an Engliſhman into the mad rapture of a magiſtrate of Calais, yet he will be pleaſed with the powers of the writer. The reader may, poſſibly, recollect the uncommon applauſe with which the repreſentation of this tragedy was received at Calais. The magiſtrates of that city, and the Players of Paris were animated with a rival ſpirit of generoſity. The latter refuſed to accept from the former a propoſal to pay their travelling, and acting expences, and had promiſed to perform gratis, when the king directed that the whole charge of the journey, and repreſentation, ſhould be defrayed out of the royal coffer.* K.

Such alſo is the caſe, in matters relative to the adminiſtration of public affairs. If a ſeries of deſtructive wars hath ſunk the ſtate in debt, and thrown upon the preſent generation the exceſſes of the paſt generation, no one ſeems willing to obſerve, how neceſſary it is to repair, by a long peace, the breaches which have been made by long wars; that the beſt method of ſupporting ſuch expences, is by increaſing the riches of the ſtate; that the more the people pay, the more liberty ſhould be granted to them, in their commercial concerns, and every exertion of their induſtry; and that the encouragement of agriculture, a wiſe diviſion of taxes, roads, canals, and a free exportation are the true reſources of the royal revenue. Inſtead of theſe reflections, it is remarked that our footmen wear ſilk ſtockings, that the houſes of the nobility are more elegantly furniſhed, than they were formerly, and that the receivers-general keep miſtreſſes. In the old times, (ſay they) no velvets, no laces were worn;

his vertues. It is not the intention of this writer, but the fulſome, and ridiculouſly-placed enthuſiaſm of a certain part of the public, which I take the liberty to cenſure.

worn; there were no wardrobes, no dreſſing rooms, no toilets; the kingdom muſt ſoon be ruined.

I repeat it again, all this could only raiſe a laugh, if ſuch abſurdities, ſuch hackneyed remarks were not ſomething worſe than tedious, and importuning; but the great inconvenience ariſing from popular prejudices is, that having a bad argument always at hand, men are prevented from recurring to a good argument. A celebrated writer(c) obſerves that, under the reign of Lewis the eleventh,(d) plague, and famine having by turns deſolated France, the only remedy which could be deviſed to ſtop theſe calamities, was to order prayers and proceſſions. This example is exceedingly applicable to our ſubject, as the great evil occaſioned by ſuperſtition doth not proceed from the performance

(c) Mr. Duclos, the elegant author of the life of Lewis the eleventh. This gentleman, who was perpetual ſecretary to the academy of Belles lettres, died in the courſe of the laſt year. K.

(d) The reign of this prince is rendered memorable by the ſtorm of Dinan. Eight hundred perſons who had eſcaped from ſlaughter, were condemned to die. Theſe little executions happened alſo in the *Protocol of the good old time*.

ance of idle ceremonies, or the obſervation of uſeleſs faſts, but from its having deluded mankind into a perſuaſion, that the remedy againſt their misfortunes is diſcovered. It is a kind of convention ſuggeſted by ignorance, to preſerve the union of terror and idleneſs. Should contagions infect the human race, proceſſions are ordered, whilſt the cauſes, and the cure of plagues are not the objects of enquiry. Should the field mice devour the corn, ſhould caterpillars conſume the vines, there muſt be more proceſſions, but no phyſicians. It is not only amidſt our provinces that theſe notions ſo generally prevail; we may obſerve them in the beſt houſes, and the moſt faſhionable company. The *good old time* is a moral ſuperſtition; it will, indeed, paſs away like other ſuperſtitions, but its diſappearance will be later, on account of thoſe vain ideas with which it is connected. Some remarks on this infatuation may poſſibly be uſeful.

I could wiſh to know, at once, what æra of hiſtory is to be choſen, for the object of our admiration. It is not, one would be inclined to hope, the age of *Fredegonde*, and *Brunehaut*; much leſs the age of the *Faineans*,

or

or kings who did nothing, and the mayors of the palace. Charles Martel, Pepin, and Charlemagne were, undoubtedly, great men; ſo alſo were Tamerlane, and Peter the firſt, and yet we do not on that account admire the Tartars, and the Ruſſians. Our anceſtors under Charles Martel plundered the eccleſiaſtics, who had plundered their fathers: Charlemagne, after having deluged his country with blood, gave laws to a barbarous people. Before his time, ſociety was in its moſt imperfect ſavage ſtate; but he himſelf was cruel; a lion reigning over wolves. As to the Carlovingians, they, like the firſt Capetians, muſt be forgotten. There remain then Philip Auguſtus, and Saint Lewis. Here, we perceive the eſtabliſhment of the feodal law; the nobility in all their ſplendor, and their courage exalted by the Cruſades. At this period, alſo, aroſe the golden age of chivalry. But, conſult the *Eſſay on general hiſtory*, that model of *hiſtorico-philoſophical* works; conſult Mr. Hume, illuſtrious in the ſame career; conſult Abbé de Velly(*e*) himſelf,

(*e*) Abbé de Velly, who died in 1759, had completed only eight volumes of his "hiſtoire de France," when

ſelf, the firſt of our hiſtorians who hath recollected that there were manners, and laws, and you will perceive that theſe generous Cruſaders were perfidious towards the Greeks and Saracens; to each other, treacherous, and unjuſt; and to the whole community, cruel, and avaricious. Examine the hiſtories of thoſe times, and obſerve how Charles of Anjou,*(f)* and his ſucceſſors conducted themſelves

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when it was taken up by Villaret, who begun with the reign of Philip the ſixth, and ended at the 348th page of the 17th volume. The continuation is by Mr. Garnier. The work hath been exceedingly well received in France. The firſt part of it, however, is, in ſome places, inaccurate. The ſtile, though not remarkable either for ſtrength, or elegance, is eaſy, natural, and tolerably correct. The private character of Velly was unexceptionable, and he enjoyed a gaiety of temper, with which the learned are but ſeldom bleſt. It was ſomething beyond the national livelineſs; a ſingularity which even his countrymen could not avoid remarking. His firſt appearance as a writer was in a tranſlation from Swift. "John Bull," or "le Procès ſans fin." K.

(f) Charles of Anjou, brother to Saint Lewis of France, received the inveſtiture of Naples, and Sicily, in 1265. In the courſe of the following year, Manfred, the natural ſon of the emperor Frederick the ſecond, aſpiring to the Neapolitan throne, fell in the action againſt Charles, on the plains of Benevento. The conqueror ſeized on all the treaſures of Manfred, whoſe

ſelves in the courſe of their conqueſts. The *Sicilian Veſpers* have, for a long time, only traced out to us the perfidy of the Italians; let them, for once, inform us what was the tyranny of their ſubduers. The young Conradin periſhed by the hands of the public executioner; Andrew of Hungary(g) was aſſaſſinated by his wife; poiſon, and the ſword deſolated without controul the fineſt countries of the earth. Such are the works of the *good old time.*

whoſe widow, and children periſhed in priſon. In two years afterwards, Conradin, duke of Swabia, and grandſon of Frederick the ſecond, endeavouring to recover his inheritance, was taken priſoner by Charles, and executed in the market place at Naples. The conduct of this unhappy youth, when on the ſcaffold, was a gallant aſſertion of his right; he threw his glove amongſt the people, and ſaid, "by this token, my legal title to the crown devolves on Peter, Prince of Arragon." A knight, at whoſe feet it fell, had the courage to take it up, and carried it to James, king of Arragon, who had married a daughter of Manfred. In 1282, the Sicilians revolted, and on Eaſter-day, when the bell rang to Veſpers, maſſacred nearly eight thouſand of the French. K.

(g) Andrew of Hungary was the firſt huſband of Joan of Naples, who, aſſiſted by her lover, Lewis, prince of Tarento, and others, cauſed him to be ſtrangled in 1345. He had only reached his nineteenth year. K.

Doth the reader aſk for inſtances of another kind? he may obſerve the wife of Philip the bold accuſed by a barber of having poiſoned Lewis, and exculpated by a *Beguine*, or nun.*(h)* He may recollect, that the three daughters-in-law of Philip the fair were convicted of adultery;*(i)* that Enguerrand de Marigny(*k*) fell a ſacrifice to the jealouſy of Charles

(h) Peter de la Broſſe, barber to Saint Lewis, and afterwards Chamberlain to Philip the bold, apprehenſive that Mary the wife of this prince might acquire too great an aſcendancy over her huſband, accuſed her of having poiſoned Lewis, the eldeſt ſon of Philip, by a former marriage; a nun of Niville was conſulted, who detected the calumny, and de la Broſſe was hanged. K.

(i) Margaret of Burgundy, the wife of Lewis the quarrelſome, was convicted of adultery, and ſtrangled in priſon. Joan of Burgundy, the wife of Philip the long, was alſo accuſed of adultery, but her huſband received her again. Blanch, the wife of Charles the fair, was found guilty of the ſame crime, but ſaved her life, by pleading the nullity of her marriage, on account of too near a conſanguinity. K.

(k) Marigny, deſcended from an illuſtrious family, was prime miniſter to Philip the fair. It cannot be denied that he oppreſſed the people with taxes, altered the coinage, and committed ſeveral flagrant acts of injuſtice: but the reaſon for which he was ſentenced to death by Charles de Valois, though pretended to ariſe ſolely from the neceſſity of puniſhing a corrupted ſervant

Charles de Valois; and that as vile intereſt, and ſordid avarice are the conſtant attendants on ferocity of manners, ſo when Philip de Valois was engaged againſt Edward the third, the whole kingdom became a theatre of treachery and treaſon. The great officers, the chief ſervants of Philip were bought, and penſioned by England. From diſloyalty, they proceeded to aſſaſſinations, and flagrant acts of robbery were followed by murder. The murders of the conſtable Lacerda, the duke of Burgundy and the duke of Orleans, are the moſt *notorious:(l)* but how many ob-

vant of the ſtate, was grounded on the reſentment which he bore againſt him, for having on a former occaſion contradicted him in full council. Marigny was hanged on a gibbet, which he himſelf had cauſed to be erected for the execution of others. Mezerai, in his relation of this event, indulges his natural antipathy againſt the gatherers of taxes, and remarks that "*as maſter of the building, Marigny was honoured with a place at the upper end of it, and took precedence of all the other thieves.*" Charles, on his death-bed, mentioned, with much remorſe, his perſecution of this miniſter, who had been condemned unheared. The children of Marigny were afterwards inveſted with the eſtates and honours of the family. K.

(l) Lacerda, appointed conſtable of France, after the execution of Count d' Eu, was aſſaſſinated by Charles

ſcurer crimes were perpetrated either before, or after the commiſſion of theſe more ſtriking crimes? if in the time of Charles the ſeventh, one ſingle day of brightneſs gladdened France, by how terrible a reign was his ſplendid, but toilſome reign ſucceeded? I ſhould imagine that the preſent age is but little diſpoſed to receive as an apology for the crimes of Lewis the eleventh, that this prince hath ſet the other kings free. His avarice, fraud, and cruelty, have been but too much imitated by his ſubjects. It may alſo be ſeen, when Charles the eighth marched on to a conqueſt tolerably lawful, if any conqueſt can

Charles the wicked, of Navarre, in revenge for his having obtained the earldom of Angouleme, which Charles had claimed as the marriage portion of his wife, the daughter of John, king of France. Lewis, duke of Orleans, was aſſaſſinated at Paris, in November, 1407, by order of the duke of Burgundy. This murder was the origin of thoſe diſſentions between the houſes of Orleans, and Burgundy, which proved ſo fatal to France. John, duke of Burgundy, was ſtabbed on the bridge of Montereau, at an interview with the Dauphin, in September 1419. Hiſtorians have doubted whether this murder was premeditated; neither is it certain that Tanequi du Chaſtel committed it. The reader may ſee this point very ably diſcuſſed in the third volume of "Eſſais ſur Paris," by Mr. de Ste. Foix. K.

can be lawful, what opinion this Italy, already ſo corrupted, had formed of the French; our hiſtorians deſcribe the Italians as traitors, nor are they miſtaken: the hiſtorians of Italy paint the French ferocious, covetous, and debauched; they alſo are not miſtaken. Let us read *Guicciardini* in particular, and we ſhall ſoon diſcover his opinion of the *barbari Franceſi*.

We admire Francis the firſt, and becauſe he told Charles the fifth that *he lied in his throat*, we ſuppoſe him to have been more brave and ſpirited than this emperor. More impartial modern writers(*m*) have proved that Francis the firſt, although extremely valiant, was much more raſh, and not bolder than

(*m*) See "Eſſai ſur l'hiſtoire generale," by Mr. de Voltaire, and "Vie de Francois I," by Mr. Gaillard. The laſt work was publiſhed in 1766, in four volumes, 12mo. and is in all reſpects what the French call a *chef-d'oeuvre*. There is another excellent performance, for which every nation in general, and two great kingdoms in particular, are greatly indebted to Mr. Gaillard; and this is "Hiſtoire de la rivalité de la France, et de l'Angleterre, 3 vols. 12mo." Too much can never be advanced in favour of a work, the direct tendency of which is to extinguiſh national hatred, and to inſpire a ſpirit of peace, by evincing the abſurdity and inutility of war. K.

Charles the fifth; that he certainly fought like a true knight, but that he forfeited his word, and had recourſe to artful ſubterfuges, in order to break through thoſe engagements, into which he had entered. It is, beſides, evident, how little the adminiſtration of juſtice was attended to, during the reign of this king. Iniquitous and arbitrary commiſſions determined the fate of the princes, and chief ſubjects of the ſtate. Fanaticiſm aroſe in all its violence. We may recollect thoſe horrible executions under Oppede, and Guerin, at Cabrieres, and Merindole.(*n*) The heretics

(*n*) Oppede was the firſt preſident, and Guerin, counſellor to the parliament of Aix. An ordinance was iſſued in 1540, directing that ſuch houſes, caſtles, and forts, in Merindole, and Cabrieres, as bolonged to the Vaudois heretics, ſhould be razed to the ground. Nineteen of the principal inhabitants of Merindole were condemned to the flames. They prevailed on the cardinal Sadolet to intercede for them with Francis the firſt, who promiſed to ſpare them, on condition that they abjured their errors. The Vaudois were inflexible, and Oppede, aſſiſted by Guerin, at length proceeded to execution. With a little army, raiſed for the purpoſe, they fell on theſe defenceleſs people, killed all they met, and burned the houſes, granaries, corn fields, and trees. The fugitives were purſued by the light of the fires. Sixty men, and thirty women were all who remained

retics were purſued, gibbets were erected, and the ſtakes were lighted, whilſt Francis entered into an alliance with the Turks, and converſed with Clement Marot.(o)

I ſhall

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mained in Cabrieres; they ſurrendered on a promiſe of pardon, and were inſtantly maſſacred. During this religious perſecution, forty-four villages were reduced to aſhes, and more than three thouſand perſons, of all ages, and of both ſexes, periſhed either by fire, or the ſword. Theſe barbarities were afterwards enquired into by the parliament of Paris. Oppede exculpated himſelf, and was releaſed; but Guerin, accuſed of other crimes, all foreign to the purpoſe, ſuch as a miſ-application of the royal proviſions, calumnies, prevarications, &c. was ſentenced to be hanged, and ſuffered at Paris in 1554. Mr. de Voltaire, who obſerves that he was executed on account of the maſſacre of Cabrieres, and Merindole, hath adopted the miſtakes of former hiſtorians. K.

(o) The better half of the character, which Martial gives of himſelf, is far from being applicable to Marot; "*Laſciva eſt nobis pagina, vita proba eſt.*". The morals of the French poet were diſſolute to an extreme; many of his epigrams are almoſt as full of wit, as of indecency. In a character ſo inconſiſtent, it is not ſingular to find the mingled flights of piety, and debauchery. The ſame hand from which we receive an obſcene ballad, preſents us with a tranſlation of the Pſalms. The laſt was cenſured by the Sorbonne. Marot died greatly diſtreſſed in 1544. He had been valet de chambre to Francis. K.

I ſhall only mention the civil wars which have filled up the interval between this prince, and Henry the fourth, to make one obſervation; and this is, that many perſons have entertained a groundleſs belief, that it was the *Medicis*, who corrupted the morals of the nation, and deſtroyed the ancient ſpirit of chivalry. With regard to morals, they who know of what diſorder Francis the firſt, and Lewis the twelfth died;(*p*) they, who not having been at the trouble of enquiring into the anecdotes of thoſe times, reſt contented with reading the epigrams of Clement Marot, and the entertaining, but exceedingly obſcene performance of the *Curate of Meudon*,(*q*) which

(*p*) Lewis the twelfth, when he was fifty-three, eſpouſed Mary, the ſiſter of our Henry the eighth. She was ſixteen. The amorous king forgot his tender conſtitution, and fell a martyr to the enjoyment of beauty, in leſs than four months after the marriage. . . . . A diſorder, at that period, almoſt incurable, and under which he had languiſhed nine years, proved fatal to Francis. The huſband of the fair Feroniere became a willing invalid, that he might make a faithleſs wife deſtroy a rival, whom he durſt not openly oppoſe. K.

(*q*) The curate of Meudon is the celebrated Rabelais, to whoſe learning, wit, humour, and indecency, few are ſtrangers. His Gargantua is dedicated to the cardinal

which is dedicated to a cardinal, may eaſily conceive what pains it muſt have coſt the *Medicis*, to convert the French into libertines. Sound morals, as we ſhall have occaſion to prove in the ſequel, are not the fruits of opinion, but of toil: they are not to be found amongſt the rich and indolent: they flee, in particular, from all thoſe who live amidſt perils, and diſturbances; a *dangerous life*, and a *licentious life* are ſynonimous terms. There was no reaſon why Chivalry ſhould have been more

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cardinal de Tournon. It is but juſtice to the memory of Rabelais, to take notice of a very ſcarce book, in octavo, the full title of which is "*Les ſonges drolatiques de Pantagruel; contenant pluſieurs figures, de l'invention de Maitre Rabelais; et dernier oeuvre d'icelui, pour la recreation des bons eſprits.*" *Paris, le Breton*, 1565. This work, without any diſcourſe, or more particular explanation, than what is preſented in the title, and an epiſtle dedicatory which follows it, contains an hundred and twenty ſingular, and original figures, engraven on wood. It ſeems evident that theſe were the cuts, which ſerved as models, to the celebrated Callot, when he executed thoſe groteſque figures, with which the collectors of prints are ſo well acquainted, and of which Callot paſſes for the inventor. Mr. de Bure, to whom I am indebted for this information, very juſtly remarks, that we ſhould ſometimes ſtrip the moderns of their pretended diſcoveries, were we to rummage oftner amongſt thoſe works, which have appeared before theirs. K.

more exempted from libertiniſm, than the profeſſion of ſmugglers, or ſailors.

A learned academician(*r*) hath been pleaſed to decorate with Attic graces, the picture of our ancient knights, as if deſirous of infuſing into their character the gentleneſs of his manners, and the delicacy of his ſtile. But his candour, truly worthy of his ſubject, hath not permitted him to leave us too long under the deluſions of enthuſiaſm, and, like an orator moved with the tears of his audience, he informs us in his fifth memoir, that, probably, not one ſyllable of what he hath advanced, concerning the vertue of theſe knights, is true. I ſhall take him at his laſt word, and think with him, that *Chivalry was only a pedantic, and ceremonious ſociety of ignorant, and quarrelſome men. That, by the majority of them, religion was no better ſerved than the ſtate. That having made a vow to exalt, and defend each other, they had been inveſted by the church with the titles of Patrons, Viſcounts, &c. notwithſtanding all which, they had inceſſantly abuſed their powers, to the prejudice even of thoſe who had been placed under their ſafeguard.*

(*r*) See five memoirs on chivalry, by *Mr. de la Curne de Ste. Palaye. Mem. de l'acad. des inſcrip.* v. 20.

ſafeguard. That protectors only in the name, but real oppreſſors, they had ſeized on thoſe poſſeſſions, which they were to have defended, the which identical ſeizures had introduced the impropriations of tithes. That ſtrictly tied down to the daily performance of particular duties, they imagined that they had purchaſed by certain practices, the right of violating all the laws of chriſtianity. That if their religion was no more than a confuſed heap of ſuperſtition, we are not obliged to adopt a different idea, relative to their gallantry, and the innocence of their commerce with the ladies. That as their devotion was but one remove from irreligion, ſo their enthuſiaſm in love, was but one remove from the moſt horrible debauchery. That the morals never had been more corrupted, or the prevalence of libertiniſm more univerſal. That for the convenience of theſe vices, particular ſtreets, and quarters of Paris were the fixed places of reſort, and that even Saint Lewis complained, that an infamous receptacle was ſituated behind his tent. That we muſt diſtruſt the applauſe, beſtowed on the paſt ages, and that two or three centuries before Marot, writers had, like him, alluded with regret, to that influence of love, ſo peculiar to the good old time. That the conſummate ignorance

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of the knights, and the confidence which they were obliged to place in the officers of juſtice, became the ſource of every ſpecies of vexatious proſecutions: in ſhort, that theſe new tyrants of the people found, in their turn, more dangerous tyrants amongſt the Clerks and Eccleſiaſtics, who had been appointed magiſtrates. Theſe were a ſet of ignorant, immoral men, converſant only in calculations of finances, and the diſhoneſt cavils of the law.

What can be added to the teſtimony of this learned author, whoſe too favourable anticipation is all to which we muſt object? let us conclude, by obſerving that, in order to regret the *good old time*, it is neceſſary *to be ignorant*. It muſt however be confeſſed that, in theſe times, ignorance is ſtill no rarity.

CHAP. III.

The influence of the revival of learning upon the condition of Mankind.

NOW, that our rapid, but extended obſervations have conducted us to an epoch, at no conſiderable diſtance from the preſent times, it may be neceſſary to refer to our principal object. Examining whether mankind had hitherto acquired that degree of happineſs, to which, in a ſtate of ſociety, they might have formed pretenſions, we did not remain ſatisfied with having ſhewn that they were very far removed from it, but concluded it neceſſary to enter into a detail, concerning the obſtacles which retarded their progreſs.

We

We have ſearched into hiſtory, and amidſt the number of years which its records have laid open to our view, have but too accurately traced the proportion of cauſes, to effects; and too fully are we convinced, that the people were not only ſtrangers to real happineſs, but that they had never taken the road which might have led to it. Our ſurpriſe diminiſhed, but our concern increaſed, when we felt the conviction that the moſt eſteemed governments, and the moſt revered legiſlations have never been directed to that ſole end of all government, *the acquiſition of the greateſt welfare of the greateſt number of individuals*: but in amends for this melancholy picture of the paſt, enlivening rays of hope ariſe, as we look forward at the future, whilſt our opinion of the preſent abounds with comfort. If we have admired our anceſtors the leſs, we have eſteemed our contemporaries the more, and the more alſo do we expect from our poſterity. Nothing, therefore, remains, but to remove the objections which might prevent the reader from concurring with theſe ſentiments: in order to effect this, we ſhall attempt to prove, firſt, that a principal tending towards perfection, a cauſe of amendment,

exiſt

exiſt at preſent; ſecondly, that this principle, and this cauſe have already acted in a very ſenſible manner.

Howſoever writers may have been ſeduced by the livelineſs of the imagination, or the ſubtlety of the underſtanding, to queſtion whether the ſciences were advantageous to mankind, ſuch *frequently affected* doubts can be referred only to the compariſon between humanity in a ſtate of nature, and humanity in a ſocial ſtate. In either caſe, it muſt be acknowledged as an eſtabliſhed principle, that man cannot, in his ſocial capacity, be too enlightened. Placed within a phyſical, political, and moral ſyſtem, a ſmall part of one great whole, his duties ariſe from his relations; and that being will be ſaid to have reached the height of moral perfection, who ſhall have fully comprehended in what manner he ought to co-exiſt with the reſt. It is clear, therefore, beyond a doubt that there is a ſcience, a doctrine for each individual; and equally certain is it, that there is a ſcience for ſocieties, for empires, and for mankind in general. But why, at the ſame time, is this ſo neceſſary a ſcience thus difficult to be acquired? we fix the æra of the revival of

literature near the fifteenth century; the eighteenth century now approaches its concluſion, and three hundred years have elapſed, before ſo important a ſtudy hath paſſed its firſt rudiments. Beſides, the traces of literature were perceptible previous to its revival. Why, then, during this ſenſible, though momentary reign, did it not produce any of thoſe effects, which we at preſent expect from it? theſe are two important objections. We were deſirous of preventing them, and ſhall now reply to them.

To ſucceed the better, let us, for a moment, have recourſe to the dialectic of Socrates, and aſk our ſuppoſed adverſary, if he hath never known perſons, who poſſeſſed elegant houſes, and yet were without furniture; great lords, who occupied magnificent palaces, and yet wanted neceſſaries; princes, who kept ſplendid courts, exhibited public ſpectacles, gave feaſts, and yet had neither troops, nor money; if he cannot deny this, let me aſk him, why he would have mankind, in general, conduct themſelves more conformably to their intereſts, than mankind taken individually? he is poſitive that good laws are more ſerviceable than fine looking-glaſſes,

glaſſes, and that great roads are more neceſſary than velvet clothes: nevertheleſs we have brought our looking-glaſſes to perfection, before our laws, and our manufactures before our roads. It is becauſe that when reaſon awoke, her faculties were not progreſſively and naturally expanded; it is becauſe a thouſand different circumſtances maintained an influence over her firſt efforts, and changed her direction. We generally err, by conſidering things too abſtractedly, and by ſquaring our notions with certain expreſſions, which are frequently no more than figures, or abridged formularies, ſerving to collect our ideas. In fact, the words *revival of literature*, *infancy of reaſon*, and *unfolding knowledge* preſent themſelves more eaſily to the mind, than all thoſe circumſtances which have either accelerated, or retarded the ſteps of our progreſs.

It is well known that at the deſtruction, or at leaſt the final abaſement of the Grecian empire, the Muſes fled for ſhelter into Italy. Thus much is ſufficient to ſatisfy our curioſity. We perceive the ſciences tranſplanted into a new ſoil, where they ſtrike a deep root, grow, extend their ſhades, produce

many flowers, and at laſt ſome fruits: we accuſtom ourſelves no longer to behold ſo intereſting an object, but in the ſame point of view; it ſeems enough that the imagination is ſatisfied, without exerciſing the judgment. And yet the Italians have ſhewn, in ſome profound diſſertations, that the revival of letters was not ſolely owing to the Greeks. In fact, Dante, and Petrarch had preceded Laſcaris, and Hieronymus. And if the harmony and graces of Arioſto are owing to the leſſons of the laſt, it muſt be confeſſed that they are fine and forward fruits. There muſt, therefore, be other principles to which it may be neceſſary to refer, and it ſeems natural to ſearch for them, amidſt the political ſituation of ſome of the ſtates of Europe.

Mr. DE VOLTAIRE hath very juſtly obſerved, that, during no inconſiderable ſpace of time, Rome was truly the capital of the Chriſtian world, and the Pope a kind of independent, univerſal monarch. But this empire, ſupported only by opinion, muſt have proved incapable of uniting magnificence with authority, and profit with pleaſure, unleſs it had been attached to ſome temporal ſovereignty, unleſs it had enjoyed ſome certain domain,

main, where the funds, produced by verbal commerce, and a ſpiritual exchange, might have been realiſed. Previous to the fifteenth century, whether the Pontiffs reſided at Rome, or whether they ſought an aſylum in Avignon, as they were either conſtantly beſet with a rebellious populace, and ambitious emperors, or entirely eclipſed by the ſovereign, to whom they almoſt became as ſubjects, they found it impoſſible to attend to any thing, except their power, and their oſtentation. It was, therefore, neceſſary that the Popes, in order to encourage the ſciences, ſhould have conſtantly reſided in a ſtate of uninterrupted tranquility at Rome. Perhaps ſomething more was neceſſary, perhaps a *Leo the tenth* was wanting to fill the pontifical throne.

Undoubtedly, ſince literature was deſtined to flouriſh again in Europe, it ought to have riſen within a mild climate, and under a ſerene ſky; in a country where nature haſtened all her productions, and left the leaſt for man to aſk. It ſhould have revived, particularly, amongſt a people whom commerce had rendered rich, induſtrious, and curious; and who, recollecting the glory of their an-

ceſtors, felt always within their own breaſts, the ſeeds of emulation, and a ſecret murmuring againſt the barbariſm of the times. Who, in this picture, doth not perceive Italy, and eſpecially Florence? thou, Happy Florence! dear to every people, free, yet not ambitious, rich, yet not conquering! thou, New Athens! and yet far more amiable, far more fortunate than Athens, ſince without falling under the yoke of tyrants, thou haſt rather appeared to abdicate, than to loſe thy liberty, and haſt, in fact, only exchanged it, for the mildeſt of all governments.

The Medici, that illuſtrious houſe, of which one ſex hath been ſo eſteemed, and the other ſex ſo deteſted by the people, the Medici are juſtly conſidered as the reſtorers of arts and ſciences. Since no one hath refuſed them this honour, it ſeems natural to examine by what principles they were actuated, when they ſo liberally encouraged them. The Medici were all rich, and magnificent; this circumſtance is ſufficient to explain the reaſon, why they took delight in raiſing edifices, in exhibiting public ſhews, and in collecting ſtatues, pictures, and books. They were, notwithſtanding, prompted by another motive,

tive, which we cannot paſs over in ſilence. Until they became Sovereigns, they had been Demagogues, obliged to humour the prevailing ſpirit of the people, and to make a ſtand againſt the oppoſite party. Now, from their magnificence, they drew the chief arms which they employed. Machiavel relates, that Peter and Laurence de Medicis, threatened by a terrible conſpiracy, in conſequence of which one of them afterwards periſhed, flattered themſelves with the poſſibility of averting it, by giving the people a feſtival, and a grand ſhew. It appears that Leo the tenth only followed the peculiar taſte of his family, or his own inclinations, when he indulged in every kind of pleaſure. Perhaps, too, he was willing that the ſenſes ſhould concur to the eſtabliſhment of the empire of opinion, and actually thought that by embelliſhing Rome, he ſhould render it more reſpectable. Be this as it will, it is extremely certain that ſound philoſophy, a love of good, and truth, had no ſhare in theſe firſt encouragements, which ſeem rather to have been diffuſed, from mere liking, amongſt the arts and ſciences, than amongſt ſerious and uſeful reſearches. The ſovereigns who erect and decorate magnifi-

cent palaces, muſt find a *Michael Angelo*, a *Raphael*, or a *Carrachio*: rich, and powerful individuals, deſirous of ſecuring to themſelves the favour of the people, by diſplaying the attractions of pleaſure, are ſure of forming poets, and artiſts. Thus luxury, which, in Italy, ſprang from commerce, and ſuperſtition, conducted to Florence, and to Rome, the fine arts and polite literature.(s)

But, ineffectually muſt Princes have endeavoured to inſpire the people with a taſte, and paſſions like their own, unleſs they had diſcovered a natural inclination in their minds, a favourable circumſtance, and ſuch, that whilſt the one acted, the other became at leaſt attentive. It is in this reſpect, I ſhould ſuppoſe that the ſubverſion of the empire of the *Eaſt* may be conſidered as a ſecondary cauſe of the revival of letters. Indeed, it cannot be too often repeated, that the Greeks were the greateſt enemies of reaſon. Bacon hath humorouſly obſerved, that all their philoſophy wore a characteriſtic of childhood, that

(s) The age of Pericles was the age of arts to Athens, becauſe this celebrated general expended in ornamenting the city, all the money which had been produced by his conqueſts, and the contributions of allies.

that it was *ready at babbling, but unable to engender.(t)* Whilſt any ſchools exiſted in Greece, there remained, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, manufactories of words, in which a moſt dangerous contraband trade was carried on, within the empire of reaſon. It was a fortunate ſtroke in favour of the human underſtanding, when the ſabre of the Turks cut aſunder the gordion knot of this miſerable logic. Beſides, the ſubtlety of the Grecian ſchools was become a double obſtacle to the revival of letters, becauſe, by exerciſing itſelf on theological ſubjects, it kept the holy ſee continually in play, and prolonged the endleſs diſputes between the two churches. The popes had good reaſon to prefer the controverſy of the Koran, to the controverſy of Photius: thus tranquility, the repoſe of the mind, induced the people to receive the fine arts with that attention, of which they ſtood in need, during the firſt moments of their revival.

The

(t) Et de utilitate apertè dicendum eſt ſ pientiam iſtam, quam a Græcis potiſſimum hauſimus, pueritiam quamdam ſcientiæ videri, atque habere quod proprium eſt puerorum, ut ad garriendum prompta, ad generandum invalida, et immatura ſit. Inſtauratio magna.

The poſſibility of amuſing mankind was a great point gained, and yet many ſteps were to be taken, before they could be rendered ſuſceptible of inſtruction. It was owing to oſtentation, and vain curioſity, that books, and manuſcripts were collected. But, whilſt the Great purchaſed, their librarians read. Cabinets have been frequently opened to diſplay the magnificence of their contents, yet perſons have entered them who ſought only for ſcience. It was, nevertheleſs, natural that the ſtudy of books ſhould have preceded the ſtudy of things. Manuſcripts were incomplete, and copies incorrect. To read uſefully, it was firſt neceſſary to read right. The ſcholar was anxious to ſupply omiſſions, and rectify errors; he compared manuſcripts, and collated copies. To effect this, it was not only requiſite perfectly to underſtand the dead languages, but to poſſeſs a profound knowledge of hiſtory. From theſe ſtudies aroſe the commentators, the ſcholiaſts, precurſors, or the advanced guard of ſcience. From hence, reſulted two great conveniences. Knowledge became more eaſy, and the faculties of the mind more acute, and powerful. And here, I muſt take the liberty to obſerve,

obſerve, that ignorant vanity, and preſumptuous idleneſs alone could poſſibly effect a falſe contempt for thoſe reſpectable men, to whom we owe ſuch fine editions, ſuch illuſtrations of ancient authors.*(u)* Alas! what ſhould we have been without them? in this age of pleaſure, and of diſſipation, where is the man of learning, who could have the reſolution, barely to undertake what they have executed?

The

(u) The Scaligers, the family of Stephens, Salmaſius, Rhodoman, Gronovius, Iſaac, and Meric Caſaubon, are turned into ridicule only by the pretended men of learning, who reading no claſſics, excepting thoſe which their regents had formerly explained to them, boaſt that they underſtand Latin, becauſe they comprehend ſome paſſages in ſome particular authors. As for me, who lay no claim to this great facility, I like to ſtudy the ancients ſolely in theſe valuable *Variorum* editions, which are ſtill to be met with, in the libraries of the curious literati. I find it impoſſible to peruſe them, without admiring the aſtoniſhing ſagacity, with which theſe learned ſcholiaſts have reſtored, and explained the text, by a reference to manners, and cuſtoms, and the manners and cuſtoms, by connecting them with an infinite number of quoted paſſages, to which the generality of readers would have paid no attention. This is a tribute of gratitude, which a lover of letters, who certainly doth not pretend to erudition, with pleaſure, offers to their memory.

The magnificence of princes, and the labours of the firſt literati, arrived then by ſlow degrees, at the power of facilitating the entry of ſcience, by removing all the rubbiſh, and all the ruins which impeded its progreſs; but this knowledge, the attainment of which was rendered poſſible, was never any thing more than the knowledge of the ancients. Now, we have already proved that it had not hitherto made the leaſt advances towards that univerſal end of all philoſophy, *the acquiſition of the greateſt welfare of the greateſt number of individuals*. We muſt have obſerved how all the legiſlations proceeded on falſe principles, ſo that even down to our times, reaſon may be ſaid only to have agitated herſelf within the cradle. When theſe ſtudies had been revived, ſtill mankind remained, for a while, at a greater diſtance from the propoſed end, than they had ever been. Such, in fact, is the propenſity of the human mind, that, like a leech, it receives its nouriſhment, by adhering only to a particular part. When applying to the reading, the ſtudy, and the explanation of books, books ſoon become all its doctrine, it is wedded to them, it reveres them, and being excluſively taken up with them,

them, it ends by ſubſtituting the inſtrument in the place of the work. He who admires authors too much, finds it difficult to ſurpaſs them,(x) and all worſhip degenerates into ſuperſtition. Thus erudition, though engaged in ſmoothing the path for genius, retarded its birth. Nor did it ſee the light, but under the empire of credulity. A vaſt curtain was drawn over nature. Mankind accuſtomed to fix their attention on heaven, were ignorant of the earth, which they trod under foot; the earth, that extenſive depoſitory of the archives of the world, that ſanctuary of nature, from whence the mind and body receive an equal nouriſhment.

If, amidſt the ſplendid days of Greece, and beneath the reign of liberty, philoſophical diſputes were ſufficient to put all minds in motion, to engage the whole attention, and to occaſion a neglect of every other ſtudy, what diſorders muſt they not have produced, when united with the intereſts of heaven, when the ſalvation of ſouls was linked with ſophiſms, and when the moſt intolerant ſeverity,

(x) Vix enim datur authores ſimul, et admirari, et ſuperare. Bacon. inſtauratio magna.

verity, perpetually changing ſides, cloſed the train of all opinions with public executions? it was then, that a general combuſtion raged equally within the moral order, and the political order; it was then, that civil wars rouſed up a freſh impediment to the progreſs of reaſon. Unfortunately, the greateſt patron of letters became the indirect cauſe of thoſe evils which ſurrounded them. Leo the tenth encouraged letters by his magnificence; but this magnificence had drained his treaſures, and he perceived that ſome treaſures were exceedingly neceſſary, to ſupport that ſpiritual empire, which he had inveſted with ſo much luſtre, he contrived a commerce of indulgencies, and as the exceſs of impoſitions is the laſt ſtage of deſpotiſm, every ſoul revolted, and grew ſenſible that ſalvation had been rated at too dear a price. Hence aroſe that long ſeries of wars, concluding only with the peace of Weſtphalia, wars, in conſequence of which, the empire of reaſon loſt all who had enliſted under their ſtandards, and who, by the violence of their contentions, inflamed even thoſe cooler men, who would willingly have ſtood neuters.

But

But the impulſion having been once thrown into action, the progreſſive motion, however eaſily it might have changed its direction, could not have ſtopped entirely. Whilſt the human mind grew civilized amongſt a more general number of individuals, it was only amongſt a ſmaller number, that it became enlightened. Poetry began to improve in France, and England, whilſt the ſtudy of phyſics, by ſome important, but detached diſcoveries, already pointed out the path which it was deſtined one day to purſue. A ſublime *Genius*, the illuſtrious Bacon, had entirely traced it: but it was not until the ſucceeding century, that this writer found any diſciples. Montagne,(y) by producing that excellent work, which ſtill remains the moſt philoſophical of any which we have, wrought no effect on his contemporaries; ſo that it may be obſerved of theſe two aſtoniſhing authors,

(y) If, when Montagne firſt publiſhed his eſſays, the French had been but half as unprejudiced, as the elegant author of this work, the obſervation that none but foreigners did juſtice to his merits, muſt have proved groundleſs. Whenſoever the writings of Montagne are thrown into an honeſt balance, learning, philoſophy, wit, and humour will conſiderably outweigh his errors, his egotiſms, and even his indecency. K.

thors, that *their light ſhined in darkneſs, and the darkneſs comprehended it not.* Thus a ſyſtematical ſpirit prevailed always in phyſics, and a dogmatical ſpirit in morality.

But whilſt a ſlow fermentation was felt within the republic of letters, a dreadful fermentation overthrew political ſocieties. The Spaniſh ambition having ſhattered its force, in the ſtruggle againſt the courage of Henry, and the obſtinate perſeverance of the Hollanders, hatred and vengeance, for a long time, wore the maſk of fear, and the cardinal de Richelieu contrived to eſtabliſh the ſuperiority of the houſe of Bourbon, by perſuading Europe that he ſtill defended it againſt the houſe of Auſtria. The wars of Lewis the thirteenth reſembled the agitation of the waves, after a tempeſt. They were, indeed, troubleſome, and tormenting motions, but the firſt cauſe was weakened. Scarcely had the treaty of Munſter, and the Pyrenean treaty preſcribed perpetual bounds to the heirs of Charles the fifth, when Europe perceived with aſtoniſhment, that ſhe had only exchanged a maſter. Lewis the fourteenth, born at a time when diſſentions were on the point of ceaſing, drew the happieſt advantages

tages from that ſatiety, which ſuch troubles had occaſioned. Henry the fourth was involved in civil wars; Lewis the thirteenth was engaged in quelling revolts: there remained only ſome ſlight diſturbances for Lewis the fourteenth to ſuppreſs. His youth, his figure, a certain greatneſs of ſoul as viſible in the refinements of his taſte, as in his features, ſoon diffuſed a freſh enthuſiaſm through minds already ſurfeited with theology, and harraſſed by the bigotry of the preceding reigns. A lady, with whom the young monarch had opened a ball, ſaid, as ſhe returned to her ſeat, "*It muſt be confeſſed that this prince was born to be the maſter of the world.*" Such a remark, proceeding from the ingenuous dictates of ſelf-love, included an extenſive meaning, and all the nation never made a better diſtinction. In fact, princes are to the majority of the people, not only chiefs who govern them, but comedians who amuſe them. If the actor performs his part well, if he hath a noble and majeſtic air, the loweſt ſubjects pay with pleaſure for their places, and crowd into the pit, without an apprehenſion of being trodden under foot. All thoſe officers, who had ſignalized themſelves, in the war of *thirty*

years, were ſtill full of vigour and glory. The youth, who ſaw and liſtened to them, glowed with a deſire of emulating their military vertues. Thus, it was but one ſtep from the minuets at the *Louvre*, to the frontiers of the *Low-countries*. The conqueſt of Flanders, and of Franche-Comté, announced to Europe the object of a long calamity. Stopped in his career, by a nation, to whom, but half a century before, the very name had been refuſed, the monarch, wounded to the heart, felt his ſpirit of rivalry embittered with vexation. Hence aroſe the war of 1672, which as it rendered him odious to Europe, ſo alſo it made way for the defeats at *Hochſtet*, and *Ramilies*. But all theſe great events, with which no reader is unacquainted, are only applicable to our ſubject, as diſcovering to us the prevailing ſpirit of the age of Lewis the fourteenth, and furniſhing us with ſome idea of this celebrated prince, whoſe court, and ſtates, became the firſt aſylum, in which letters flouriſhed, and were at peace.

Leo the tenth was only magnificent, and voluptuous; Lewis was alſo fond of luxury and pleaſure, but with theſe paſſions, he had united a thirſt for war. Like Leo he erected

palaces,

palaces, but he raiſed fortreſſes; he exhibited public ſhews, but he gave battles. Thus, all minds were taken up with their peculiar employments; and whilſt talents and arts were ſcarcely ſufficient to adminiſter to the embelliſhment of a ſplendid court, all the activity of the nobility, and all the attention, all the vanity of the people were turned to war. But the means by which the ſpirit of philoſophy made ſo great a progreſs in France; it muſt be conſtantly remembered, that by the ſpirit of philoſophy, I mean that, which applying itſelf to politics, and morality, is particularly occupied in promoting the welfare of mankind.

It is curious to obſerve, as we have already done in our diſquiſition, concerning the feodal government, what were the ſteps taken by the human mind, in her return towards reaſon. As the path which ſhe purſued, on this occaſion, was extremely devious, I would beg leave to ſtop a moment here, and even to retrograde a little, and take facts from an earlier period.

If it be true, that in the moral ſciences, one may always obſerve a ſlow, but continual progreſs, ſo that ſound polities, and well con-

certed legiſlations become the laſt reſult of our reflections, it is alſo no leſs evident, that amongſt thoſe ſciences, which approach the neareſt to phyſics, a particular diſcovery, a fortuitous circumſtance may open to us, in an inſtant, the moſt ample career, and greatly accelerate our progreſs. Such was the invention of the compaſs which, on a ſudden, extended commerce, and navigation, and poured in upon us the riches of a world, which had been abſolutely unknown to us. Spain reaped the firſt advantages from theſe treaſures, which ſhe diſſipated in the wars of Flanders, and in thoſe wars, which ſhe inceſſantly fomented in France. Columbus, and Cortes, Veſpuzius, and Pizarro only diſcovered, and conquered lands to give biſhops to the Flemings, and to prepare us to receive the council of Trent. All the gold of the new world was laviſhed away in theſe efforts, which, notwithſtanding, proved ineffectual; Philip the ſecond, in this inſtance only, reſembling Philip of Macedon, formed greater expectations from theſe new riches, than from his veteran troops, which equalled the *Macedonian phalanx*. From hence, aroſe in Europe this new axiom: *war, and expence are the*

the ſame thing. From hence, alſo, aroſe the modern cuſtom of paying ſubſidies to foreigners, and of making gold and ſilver the capital articles in every political tranſaction. Theſe metals, at that time, became the real kings of Europe. It was not to procure the conveniences of life, to eſtabliſh a correſpondence with different nations, to employ mankind uſefully, and to multiply their enjoyments, that ſuch dangerous voyages were made to America, and the Indies; it was ſolely to acquire gold: but avarice and œconomy act always in oppoſition to each other, nor do we ever perceive a thirſt after riches, united with that wiſdom which watches over their preſervation. The Spaniſh monarchy becoming weak in proportion as it became rich, invaded Portugal to loſe her colonies, with its own. The Hollanders, ſober, patient, and induſtrious, got poſſeſſion of that gold, with which it was intended to purchaſe chains for them; but they diſſipated it, in their turn, firſt, in a lawful defence, and next by an obſtinate adherence to a principle, which confounded the balance of Europe, with the ruin of Lewis the fourteenth.

This celebrated balance of power, which was never ridiculed, until after it had been diſcovered, was at that period, much more important than it is imagined to be at preſent. What power, ſay they, can prevail over all the powers united? undoubtedly, any power; but powers muſt have time; they muſt feel an inclination to unite; they muſt be well armed, they muſt be rich. I ſhould like to know where any reſiſtances could have been found, had Alexander of Parma beaten Henry the fourth, and had an Infanta of Spain, married to a prince of Lorrain, governed France under the laws of Philip the ſecond? Is it to be ſuppoſed that the union of Dordrecht could have maintained itſelf for any length of time? that Sweden would have turned her arms againſt Germany, and that the princes of the empire would have ſtipulated for their independance? Would Savoy have acquired the power of forming a ſtate? and would not the maſter of the Milaneſe, when maſter of all Lombardy, have eſtabliſhed a ſure communication with Germany, Italy, France, and Spain? that is for the intereſt of princes; this is for the intereſt of the people. Would not the Spaniſh deſ-

potiſm

potiſm have introduced that intolerant ſpirit which is inſeparable from it? would not the people have been galled by a foreign yoke? and would not nations have bent, like the Americans, under the ignorant, and ſanguinary pride of a Caſtilian viceroy? let us now place Lewis the fourteenth in the year 1667: ſuppoſe him purſuing his conqueſts in Flanders; and perhaps to inſure his ſucceſs there, it was only neceſſary to render the inflexible, and honeſt minds of Temple, and Van Beuning weak, and venal. Lewis then would have taken poſſeſſion of Flanders, and Brabant, and had he ſtopped here for ſome moments, he muſt have recollected that theſe Hollanders were extremely convenient to him; that after all, they were but rebels, whom his anceſtors would willingly have protected, that they even aſked a ſovereign from France,(z) and that it was neceſſary to bring them once into ſubjection, for their own good. Lewis had his armies all in readineſs; nothing remained for him but to paſs the Meuſe. To what power, could theſe unfortunate people have had recourſe, under ſuch

(z) The duke d'Alençon under Charles the ninth.

circumſtances? would the Engliſh have fitted out a fleet? would they have collected troops for an embarkation? but their ſhips were not ready, their regiments were not compleated.*(a)* And had all theſe obſtacles been removed, peace, or war ſtill depended on the inclinations of the king; and this king was governed by a woman, by a *French woman*, purpoſely ſent into England, and penſioned by Lewis the fourteenth.*(b)* Denmark, Sweden, and the empire could not have aſſembled ſufficient forces in time. Holland muſt have been conquered, and ſoon a Jeſuit, whom principles of ambition had rendered cruel, would have ſounded an alarm in the ears of the victorious monarch, whenſoever, amidſt his exploits, he was ſacrificing to pleaſure; he would have perſuaded the ſecretary at war that it was his intereſt to employ the troops, and peace could be ſerviceable only to a comptroller-general. Perſecution would have raged through the *United provinces*, and thoſe vertuous citizens, who ſo chearfully accoſted each other, as they came

(a) The regular troops of the Engliſh did not, at that time, amount to ſix thouſand.

(b) The dutcheſs of Portſmouth.

came out of their temples, and churches, would no longer have converſed together, without feeling the uneaſineſs of mutual fear and hatred. The company trading to the Eaſt Indies, that great territorial empire, which ſupports the little commercial ſtate of Holland, would have paſſed for a ſociety without order, and without polity. Two commiſſaries from the king would have been appointed, to promote as much as poſſible, the intereſts of the proprietors, that is, to deprive them of the liberty of ever examining, what their real intereſts were. Commerce would have been rendered ſubject to all thoſe admirable regulations, which muſt ſoon effectually have deſtroyed it; and the three millions of men, which might have exiſted in the united countries, would have been reduced to four, or five hundred thouſand wretches, not to be kept in ſubjection, but by placing over them an army, the pay of which muſt have been wrung from the fineſt provinces in France. Let the reader judge if, after this, Germany could have continued independant, and if England could have defended her liberties againſt the Stuarts. All this, however, muſt have happened, if, when

Lewis

Lewis the fourteenth made himſelf maſter in 1667, of Flanders, and Brabant, he had not been obliged, in three years afterwards, to take a wider circuit, in order to attack Holland, on the ſide of the Rhine. I ſpeak it without flattery, although I do not fear leſt any powers ſhould contradict me, when I make the aſſertion; the moſt fortunate circumſtance which can happen in general to every people, is to preſerve their princes, and their forms of government. The progreſs of reaſon ſhould tend rather towards improvement, than a change; and of all political ſcourges, conquerors are the moſt dangerous.

There is then a rational, and neceſſary balance of power; it conſiſts in ſo diſpoſing the forces of Europe, that the weakeſt ſtates may be ſecured againſt any daring attack, any ſudden, and rapidly conducted invaſion. Now, to accompliſh this, two means muſt concur: firſt, defenſive alliances, which will not ſuffer the ſtrongeſt powers to attack the weakeſt powers, without being expoſed to a long and doubtful war. Secondly, frontiers ſo fortunately ſituated, that the weaker power, when attacked, may find time to have recourſe to its allies. This concurrence exiſts

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in Europe amongſt all the powers of the ſecond order: amongſt the Hollanders, by their alliance with England, and by the *Barriere-treaty*, which interpoſes a certain number of Auſtrian places between France, and the United Provinces; whatſoever may be found beyond this general *nyſus*, this reciprocal reſiſtance will become an obſtacle to the tranquility of Europe, will prove a ſource of ambition within every council, and ſcatter the ſeeds of diſtruſt through the reſpective courts. It is from this conſideration, that ſuch numerous armies are kept on foot, and devour the ſubſiſtance of the people; from hence, alſo, proceeds that unfortunate activity in the cabinet, which is dignified with the name of policy, but which draws the ſovereign, and his miniſters aſide from that true policy, the whole end of which is the repoſe and welfare of mankind.

Let us not dwell upon a ſubject, to which we muſt ſtill too frequently return, but reſt ſatisfied with obſerving, that this balance of power, whether well, or ill founded, ſolid, or ideal, was a new ſource of expence, which diſſipated the money, of which the commercial powers had ſtripped the conquer-

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ing powers, ſo that they all felt themſelves equally drained and equally in want of peace. But hope, and fear, obſtinacy, and jealouſy, paſſions as common amidſt governments, as amongſt individuals, no longer ſuffered them to liſten to the voice of reaſon.

The intoxication of glory, the debaucheries of ambition, have this, in common with the vices of the loweſt profligates, that the hour of payment is the firſt warning, which recalls good ſenſe, and brings reflection home. The French having payed exceſſive taxes, were convinced that the glory of the *king their maſter*, was purchaſed at rather too dear a price, and the Engliſh, having eſtimated the enormous load of their national debt, felt, in their turn, that their endeavours to pull down the Grand Monarque,*(c)* had alſo pulled down their fortune, and their treaſures. It was generally allowed that peace was preferable to war, and that plentiful harveſts were more valuable than fireworks, and *Te Deums*. She came, this much deſired peace, and ſo lengthened her firſt abode on earth,

(c) This is the name which the Engliſh ſtill give to the king of France, in their political, or rather ſatirical works.

earth, that every breaſt was animated with hope. If our paſſions, and natural inquietudes forced her to diſappear, ſtill her returns were frequent, and like ſome familiar bird, diſturbed, but not ſcared away, ſhe never took a diſtant flight, and always found a place of reſt.

Peace, highly advantageous to the progreſs of reaſon, and philoſophy, is particularly ſo, when appearing amongſt a people already exhauſted, and ſatiated with war. It is then, that all frivolous ideas are effaced, and that the bodies politic, like the organiſed bodies, are taught by a ſenſe of pain, to ſeek their own preſervation; it is then, that the mind, accuſtomed to exerciſe itſelf on agreeable ſubjects, dwells with double energy on the inveſtigation of uſeful ſubjects; it is then, that the rights of humanity are challenged with ſucceſs, and that princes, at once the creditors, and debtors of their ſubjects, permit them to be happy, that they may be either more patient, or more able to pay.

Thus, a love of riches, till then the cauſe, became at length the remedy for thoſe calamities, with which it had afflicted human nature. The time is paſt, in which the ſtateſman,

man, more the pedant, than the citizen, referred to old cuſtoms all the principles of government. The expreſſions *feodal*, *fiſcal*, *domanial*, muſt now be driven from our tribunals, whilſt the words *property*, *agriculture*, *commerce*, *liberty*, ſupply the place of the barbarous vocabulary of the ſchools. Serious and uſeful queſtions will be diſcuſſed in all companies. Scholars will become patriots; philoſophers will be citizens. A general correſpondence will be eſtabliſhed, and the love of humanity prove the central point, in which all minds may meet, the learned, the man of genius, and the artiſt. Whoſoever ſhall have rendered himſelf uſeful, whether by his actions, his example, or his writings, ſhall find his name within the regiſters of beneficence, and every workman who poliſhes a wheel, or a ſpring, will at leaſt have an idea of the great machine, to which his work ſhould be referred.

If this picture ſhould be conſidered as imaginary, by ſome corrupted men, I dare proteſt that it is after nature, and I appeal for evidence to the works which iſſue from the preſs, to the voice of the people, aſſembled in the theatre, to the character of ſome powerful,

erful, and beneficient perſons, whom I have had an opportunity of knowing, loving, and eſteeming,(d) and particularly to the ſociety of learned men, in which I comprehend all who admire, and cultivate letters; a gentle, amiable, and honeſt ſociety, as highly graced with virtues, as with talents: in ſhort, if I may be allowed to judge from my own impreſſions, I ſhall not call in queſtion thoſe inward feelings, which inſpire me with a fond attachment to the age, in which I began my career, and towards which the ſtudy of hiſtory continually leads me back, full of thoſe pleaſing

(d) If Monſieur de Louvois, when he preſided at the head of the war-office, and enjoyed the greateſt influence in the direction of public affairs, had rendered himſelf the inſtrument of concluding a peace; if, in the ſame moment, that he riſqued his reputation, by changes as dangerous to himſelf, as uſeful to the ſtate, his humanity had prompted him to ſoften, throughout, the rigour of the military laws; if, far from ſuffering himſelf to be led away by that force, of which he was the miniſter, he had declared himſelf the friend of commerce, and of all legal liberty; if, with the moſt extenſive capacity, he had united thoſe gentle diſpoſitions, and noble manners, which removing every idea of apprehenſion, inſpire an amiable reſpect, would he not have left behind him a reputation much dearer to poſterity? would he not have been the darling of a people, who only beheld him with a kind of ſilent terror?

pleaſing ſenſations experienced by the traveller, who after having wandered through ſavage climes, returns at laſt into his native country.

But is this tendency to the general welfare, this amendment in the condition of humanity effectively owing to the revival of letters, and the progreſs of philoſophy? doth it not, on the contrary, follow from what we have obſerved on this ſubject, that the alteration was a neceſſary conſequence of the different political circumſtances, and, eſpecially, of the impediments to the continuance of thoſe wars which were already become too expenſive? To this objection, I ſhall anſwer, by aſking, in my turn, if, in the ages of ignorance, the depopulation of the ſtate was any obſtacle to the fanaticiſm of the laſt Cruſades, to the civil wars excited by the feodal anarchy, and to the other civil wars, lighted up by a ſuperſtitious and intolerant ſpirit? how often, ſince the time of the unfortunate Valerian, have the Perſian and Grecian empires been reciprocally drained by uſeleſs wars? what numerous calamities have afflicted the Grecian empire! how many different enemies have conquered it, and yet the public miſeries were not the means of imparting to ſound reaſon,

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a prevalence over empty dialectics, and philoſophical ſubtleties? is it imagined that if Henry the fourth had not conſented to hear maſs, the forty years of troubles which tore France in pieces, would have been ſufficient to have rendered the people diſguſted with civil wars, and willing to unite under a lawful king? once more, let us perſuade ourſelves, that amidſt the revolutions of the world, a cauſe never acts entirely alone. I know that political misfortunes diſpoſe the people to liſten to the voice of reaſon; but this voice muſt be lifted up ſomewhere; it muſt poſſeſs powers of expreſſion, and above all, it muſt be liſtened to with pleaſure. Why, during the laſt war, when the empreſs, united with the Catholic ſtates of Germany, fought againſt the king of Pruſſia, allied with the principal proteſtant powers, were none induced to believe that it was a war of religion? why did the emiſſaries of the king of Pruſſia meet with no credit amongſt the greater part of the people, who, in all theſe tranſactions, ſaw nothing but a violent quarrel between the houſe of Auſtria, and the houſe of Brandenburgh? it is that the human mind is become more enlightened with regard to

facts, and more indifferent about opinions. It is becauſe that if even the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation had been linked with ſuch a quarrel, few ſoldiers would have been found diſpoſed to fight in its defence. Beſides, as we have already remarked, when ignorant men feel a lively ſenſe of their misfortunes, they are always miſtaken in their choice of remedies. If, two centuries ago, a decreaſe in agriculture had been obſerved, the ſtate would have ordered proceſſions, whilſt a million of monks, ſuffered to devour the national ſubſiſtance, would have filled up the meaſure of calamity.

We are now naturally led to the ſecond objection, to which we propoſed a reply, at the beginning of the chapter. This is now the only difficulty which remains to be removed. If the advances of letters, and philoſophy, were alone ſufficient to enlighten mankind with a knowledge of their true intereſts, why do we not perceive that the bright days of antiquity, the ages of Pericles, and Auguſtus, have produced ſome effect of this nature? although I flatter myſelf that this objection hath been already obviated, in another place, yet it may be right to turn again to the ſubject,

ject, and examine it, in every poſſible point of view. It hath been proved, in the former part of this work, that the Greeks, though ſucceſsful in literature, and arts, were unable to carry the ſcience of politics to any degree of perfection; it hath been obſerved, that the philoſophers, for a long time, attached to frivolous ſyſtems of Theogony, and Coſmogony,*(e)* had continually neglected Morality; and that Socrates was the firſt who recalled to earth Philoſophy, an exile in Heaven.*(f)* It may, here, be added, that the political ſituation of the Greeks was always an obſtacle to the progreſs of human reaſon. This nation, united in idea by an inſignificant bond, and in fact, divided into a great number of republics, all ambitious, all jealous of each other, was conſtantly tormented by exterior wars, and torn by civil wars. Vanity was the only general principle, the only mark of reſemblance between ſo many ſtates governed by different laws. Unfortunately for

(*e*) The origin of the gods, and the generation of the world.

(f) See "dialogues des Morts" by Fontenelle, and the "dicta memorabilia" of Socrates, collected by Xenophon.

theſe people, their vanity never wanted the means of gratification. The Greeks, when ſcarcely extricated from a ſtate of barbariſm, triumphed over the Perſians: it was a ſplendid triumph, and ſo calculated to inflame their imagination, that they could not touch the cup of glory, without being intoxicated. Hence proceeded that emulation, that pride which armed Sparta againſt Athens, and ſucceſſively all the republics againſt each other. Another circumſtance peculiar to the Greeks, and which deſerves to be the ſubject of a particular diſſertation, exerted a prodigious influence over the turn of their minds. I know not how it happened that this people brought their language all at once to perfection, and rendered it the moſt conſummate ſyſtem, in which mankind might reproduce their ideas; it is a dangerous weapon, when ill-employed, and ſomewhat like the ſword, within the hands of our anceſtors, who rendered it rather the inſtrument of duels, than of the defence of their country. From this aptitude to language, reſulted a great inconveniency; the form carried away the ſubſtance; the ſtudy of politics fell under the power of the Rhetoricians, and the ſtudy of philoſophy under the

the power of the Sophiſts. Two inventions gave the finiſhing ſtroke to this diſorder; the *Period* of the Rhetoricians, and the *Syllogiſm* of the Sophiſts. Then all truth was proſcribed, if not announced in three regular members, and the whole ſyſtem of nature was doomed to be incloſed within a major, and a minor.*(g)* A natural conſequence of this *Logomania*, if I may ſo expreſs myſelf, is that the pleaſure of ſpeaking, and hearing, will always greatly ſurpaſs the pleaſure of teaching, and being inſtructed. Hence, thoſe famous ſchools which ſoon degenerated into ſects, and, at length, when the Chriſtian religion was eſtabliſhed into hereſies. Now,

(g) Bacon hath judiciouſly obſerved, that the ſyllogiſtical form, and all the dialectics of the antients were very well adapted to diſputes, but not at all fitted to enquiries after truth: this illuſtrious writer is the firſt, who hath oppoſed to this ſpecious, but erroneous method, the method of invention, and analogy. He every where diſcovers a great contempt for this catechetical philoſophy, which conſiſts in finding anſwers to each queſtion, and for thoſe quirks of Ariſtotle, in which nature is ſubmitted to frivolous definitions. "Magis ubique ſollicitus quomodo quis reſpondendo ſe "explicet, et aliquid reddatur in verbis poſitivum, "quam de æternâ rerum veritate."

Novum organum. aph. 63.

there cannot be any greater impediments to the progreſs of reaſon, than thoſe ſchools which teach us, not what abſolutely is, but what another hath thought; where the maſter appears in the place of nature, even before her own diſciples, and where the greateſt efforts of application are exerted, in order to underſtand a man, who doth not underſtand himſelf.

At the revival of letters, the world enjoyed a great advantage from the diſcovery of printing, and the facility with which all might read, inſtead of hearing. Books, the faithful, but cold interpreters of thoughts, are to diſcourſe, what prints are to pictures. They are ſtripped of the brilliant colours of declamation. They are judged in ſolitude, and ſilence, and it is there, that queſtioned, and confronted, they undergo a kind of torture, which forces them to diſcover their faults, and their accomplices. They, ſometimes indeed, arrogate to themſelves, the privileges claimed by their authors. They exerciſe a power, they reign in their turn, eſpecially when one amongſt theſe privileged bodies, fitter to preſerve, than to augment the ſciences, introduces a legiſlation into ſtudy;

when

when this literary legiſlation reſts upon a civil legiſlation; and, in ſhort, when incapacity paſſes a final judgment on philoſophy, and arbitrarily determines that its actual bounds ſhall be perpetually the ſame. But this monopoly cannot laſt long, and in the ſciences, as in politics, a contraband trade is the preceptor of commerce.

Theſe remarks are, I ſhould imagine, ſufficient to prove that, as the circumſtances attending the firſt appearance of literature, were different from the circumſtances attending its revival, it was natural for different effects to reſult from them. We ſhall perceive, in the next chapter, what theſe effects were, and in the remaining part of the work, what are the effects which we have reaſon ſtill to hope for.

CHAP. IV.

A ſtate of the progreſs already made towards the eſtabliſhment of the welfare of ſociety. An examination into the preſent condition of the really-inſtructed people.

ALTHOUGH perſuaded that only comfortable truths will reſult from thoſe enquiries, on which we are now going to enter, we ſtill think ourſelves obliged to remind the reader that the progreſs of reaſon, as traced through the ſmall number of uſeful diſcoveries which we have reckoned up, as far as this period, is not excluſively entitled to his attention, but that he muſt alſo obſerve its ſteps along that path which we have already explored, in order to facilitate our approaches towards

towards good morality, and ſound polity. This march of the human underſtanding is not to be conſidered as a mere journey, but as an expedition of curioſity, during which we frequently turn off into another road, or ſtop to examine all which appears worthy of our notice. If I may be allowed a figure, the abuſe of which, I have often taken the liberty to cenſure, I ſhall compare the ſtudies of men, at the revival of letters, to the inſtruction of a ſcholar who follows the ordinary courſe of the claſſes. At the firſt, the human underſtanding is applied to the ſtudy of the ancients; it reſtores their various readings; it comments on the different paſſages, and it is here, that it may be ſaid to have gone through its humanities. Amongſt well educated youth, drawing, and geography ſhould be, as it were, the acceſſories of this ſtudy, and here we diſcover ſome relation to the progreſs of the arts under the Medici, and of navigation under Charles the fifth. Scarcely is the ſcholar ſtrengthened in his knowledge of the claſſics, when he begins to compoſe, himſelf, and makes eſſays in proſe, and in verſe. Not contented with having learned the expreſſions in the ancient books, he

ſearches

ſearches amongſt them for precepts, for examples of taſte, and urbanity, and it is here that we trace the beginning of rhetoric. But mankind ſoon perceive that it is not ſufficient merely to talk, and write; nature ſurrounds them, and ſollicits their attention. The wants of life call on the ſciences for aſſiſtance; uſeful inſtruments, and ingenious machines are diſcovered: this then is the entrance into philoſophy. The ſtudents lead off with ſome propoſitions in geometry, and ſome principles in mechanics. But this progreſs is ſoon ſtopped. Profeſſors, equally vain and trifling, far from clearing up and rectifying the ideas of the ancients, do not even give their pupils what theſe authors have written in their beſt manner; but inſtead of Pliny and Ariſtotle, oblige them to read their own productions, inſipid, unintelligible rhapſodies, and which muſt entirely overſet all application, did not ſome foreign demonſtrator arrive to rouze it, by curious experiments, though preſented without ſyſtem, and without connection. Here, the reſemblance between the world and the college is ſo ſtriking, that it is needleſs to detail it. It may be found equally amongſt our firſt works in metaphyſics,

taphyſics, and that falſe logic of the claſſes, which is called *the art of thinking*, and which ought to be ſtiled *the art of dreaming*. At length, the time arrives at which the youth is to come forward in the world, to aſſume a condition, and to ſuperintend his domeſtic affairs. He muſt, now, ſtudy morality, natural law, and public law; theſe are important, and reſpectable ſciences, intended to complete his education, and yet they only throw in his way a chaos of obſcurities, and contradictions, ſo long as he continues tied down to the leſſons of his maſters, and until, being left to himſelf, he again runs over his courſe of inſtruction. It is then, that maturely reflecting on his paſt ſtudies, he will learn to believe but few things, to read but few books, to improve his patrimony, and to do good to his neighbours.

We leave it to our readers, to determine the moment of that period, to which they would refer the preſent ſtate of the human underſtanding. We ſhall only ſuppoſe it to be more than diſguſted at the compoſitions of profeſſors, more than ſatiated with falſe erudition, and exceedingly near the time, at which an attention to domeſtic affairs muſt be

be deemed preferable to the counterfeit brilliancy of the ſchools. Yet we cannot avoid obſerving, that, in this parallel, we have omitted a ſtudy, which hath occaſioned rather more diſorder in the world, than within the colleges: this is the ſtudy of the catechiſm. To this, what numerous battles have been owing! How often hath it diſturbed either the hours of labour, or the moments of repoſe!..... But we have treſpaſſed ſufficiently upon the indulgence of the reader, and muſt proceed towards our propoſed end, in a more rapid and ſerious manner.

It hath already been remarked, that we may reaſonably conſider all diſcoveries whatſoever, hitherto made by mankind, as ſo many advances towards true philoſophy, and ſound polity. It may not, perhaps, be uſeleſs to glance over that immenſe labour, from which our predeceſſors have relieved our contemporaries.

To begin with the more exact ſciences, the *Mathematics.(b)* We may perceive Aſtronomy

(b) I cannot avoid cenſuring a corruption, into which even our learned men are fallen, by a miſapplication of the word *Geometry*, which ſimply ſignifies the art

nomy unfolded and improved by *Kepler*, *Newton*, *D'Alembert*, *Clairault*, *Bernouilli*, *Euler*, &c.*(i)* improving, in its turn, Geography and Navigation. We may obſerve Mechanics, under the ſame auſpices, multiplying our efforts, and reducing nature to ſubmiſſion, even by the powers of nature. Ingenious machines diſengage man from painful toils, and

art of meaſuring the earth. We hear every day of tranſcendent *geometry*, and aſtronomical *geometry:* all as far as the problem of three bodies, is to the French, *geometry*. Why not adopt the word *mathematics?* it doth more honour to this ſtudy, as ſignifying ſcience in general, and is beſides an expreſſion frequently occurring in the works, not only of the ancients, but of the moderns, and ſufficiently proves that the ſcience of calculating, and meaſuring, hath conſtantly been regarded as the firſt of all the ſciences.

(i) Amongſt theſe celebrated mathematicians, the only compatriots of the Chevalier, are D'Alembert, and Clairault. Since the characters, and writings of the others are generally known, leſt I treſpaſs (as in the courſe of this tranſlation I fear I have often done) too much upon the patience of the reader, I ſhall confine myſelf chiefly to ſome ſlight particulars, concerning thoſe natives of France, whoſe works have ſo firmly eſtabliſhed the literary reputation of their country. Mr. D'Alembert is, if I miſtake not, ſtill living. His "Deſtruction des Jeſuites," and his excellent "Melanges de literature, d'hiſtoire, et de philoſophie" have

and water, and fire itſelf now rendered our inſtruments, are the only ſlaves employed by us, in the proſecution of our labours.

How rich are our acquiſitions, derived from thoſe ſciences which depend more on obſervation! Scarcely hath man contemplated the heavens, and the earth, with a curious and inquiſitive ſpirit, when he diſcovers the means of turning his enquiries to ſerviceable purpoſes.

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have been received in England with great, but not undeſerved applauſe. It is to the joint exertions of this gentleman, and Monſieur Diderot, that we are indebted for the "Encyclopedie," an uſeful, and magnificent receptacle of arts, and ſciences, where, from the genius, and powers of theſe indefatigable aſſociates, the labours of preceding writers aſſume new graces, and improvements. . . . . Alexis Clairault became a proficient in the mathematics, at an age, when moſt others would have felt a difficulty in acquiring the firſt rudiments. When he read, before the academy of ſciences, his diſſertation on the four new geometrical curves, which he had diſcovered, he was only in his thirteenth year. After ſo fortunate an opening, the higheſt ideas were conceived of his abilities, nor did his ſubſequent publications fall ſhort of that uncommon merit, which ſeldom reſults from the application of riper years, unleſs the mathematician be, like the poet, *rather born, than made.* The capital works of Clairault are, "Elemens de Geometrie," "Elemens d'Algebre," "Theorie de la figure de la terre," and "Table de la lune." He died in 1765. K.

purpoſes. The teleſcope draws diſtant objects nearer to the view; the microſcope, by magnifying the works of nature, opens to us a new province within her empire, and this inſtrument becomes, as it were, the bond which unites us to an immenſe portion of the creation.

Anatomy hath lifted up the veil of humanity; it hath diſcovered an innumerable quantity of machines, which give motion to theſe frivolous decorations of life, and proved to us that *Moſes* made uſe of an extremely bold hyperbole, when he aſſerted that God created man after his own image. This ſcience, at once terrible and uſeful, hath taught thoſe deſtructive weapons, which were accuſtomed to deprive us of our being, the new art of preſerving it, and tracing out for them, even into our very entrails, a dark, but certain road, hath enabled the artiſt to remedy thoſe diſorders which he could not ſee.

Chemiſtry, which may be conſidered as the anatomy of unorganiſed bodies, but which, with the power of dividing, can unite the power of combining and regenerating, hath been carried, in our times, to its utmoſt

per-

perfection, ſince mankind have learned how to extend its uſe throughout all the arts, and to reſtrain it in medicine. Paraſitical beings on the ſurface of the earth, we dare not interrogate this fruitful mother, and we ſeek our hiſtory in the heavens. The erudition of genius hath offered us other records, and the world, by loſing a portion of its nobility, hath gained antiquity.(*k*)

From the Mathematics, Anatomy, Chemiſtry, and Natural Hiſtory united together, aroſe, at length, the true ſcience of Phyſics, or the hiſtory of nature, in the Great. This ſcience ceaſes, in our days, to be the forced explication of a vain ſyſtem of metaphyſics, or of ſome ill-obſerved phænomena. It is an edifice formed of an immenſe concurrence of experiments, tried by induſtrious men, and compared by men of genius. Des Cartes had found the laws of Dioptrics, and Newton the

(*k*) The glory of having created amongſt us the ſcience of natural hiſtory is due to Monſieur de Buffon: this ſcience iſſued from his hands, in all its beauty, as Minerva iſſued from the head of Jupiter, and he fully underſtood how to make it at once known, and admired. Never was eloquence employed to nobler purpoſes: it is Demoſthenes writing down the obſervations of Ariſtotle.

the laws of Optics. A great, and magnificent diſcovery was reſerved for theſe times; and this is Electricity, the terrible effects of which have placed mankind on an equality with the gods of antiquity, whilſt Franklin, like another Prometheus, acquired the art of ſtealing the celeſtial fire, and rendering it docile to his laws.*(l)*

But it was not ſufficient that men had obtained a knowledge of the phyſical world, for there, curioſity, the craving paſſion peculiar to the human ſpecies found only half its food. A vaſt field was opened to it in the moral world. Vanity, and even enthuſiaſm became interwoven with this paſſion, and hiſtory de-

(l) The Chevalier is not the only foreigner who hath payed an elegant tribute to the acknowledged powers of our great leader in the ſcience of electricity. Signior Giam-Baptiſta Beccaria, profeſſor of natural philoſophy in the univerſity of Turin, hath prefixed to his "Elettriciſmo artificiale," publiſhed exactly at the ſame time with this work of my illuſtrious friend, a complimentary letter to Doctor Franklin, in which he remarks that the taſk of enlightening the human mind, by the diſcovery of this new ſcience, was reſerved for him, that he hath diſarmed the thunder of its terrors, and by the bold exertions of his genius, taught the fire of heaven, which till then was conſidered as the weapon of omnipotence, to obey his voice. K.

generated into erudition. Perhaps, alſo, the one could not have exiſted without the other. Be that as it may, it was neceſſary to dig up theſe immenſe lands of antiquity. A knowledge of the genealogy of every thing which exiſts was abſolutely requiſite; a long and toilſome taſk, but at this period ſo advanced, that we may be ſaid to ſail through it with a full, and proſperous tide.

In ſhort, that no aſylum might remain, not even in idleneſs, for the laſſitude of the mind, Poetry haſtened to enrich our theatres, and adorn our libraries. Attired in *her* charms, vertue grew more powerful, and pleaſure more ſeducing.

The Cabinets, and Muſeums have been opened, whilſt modern princes, wiſer in their magnificence than the Roman emperors, inſtead of thoſe preſents of corn, and oil, which only nouriſhed lazineſs, diſtributed amongſt the people, the aliments of the mind, ſo that every citizen of the republic of letters was furniſhed with a certain ſubſiſtance.

If we paſs on to the agreeable arts, thoſe amiable comforters of life, which have but too much right to challenge our attention,

we

we ſhall not ceaſe to congratulate ourſelves on our riches. Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture, patroniſed by the Medici, advanced at once towards perfection. They ſank, for a while, amidſt the calamities of the times, but now revive in all their luſtre. As to Muſic which maintains over the ſenſes, a ſtill more immediate, and continual empire, what progreſs hath it not made in our days? no, antiquity never preſented a more captivating allurement to a mind glowing with ſenſibility, than the union of a *Pergoleſe*, and a *Metaſtaſio*,(*m*) a rare, and valuable

 union,

(*m*) Metaſtaſio is ſtill living at Vienna; the ſingularity of his character, in which it would be hard to determine whether genius, or vertue hath the aſcendency, can never be too generally known. He is at once an ornament, and a leſſon to human nature. I ſhould conſider it as a ſevere tax upon my veneration for this veteran in goodneſs, to be debarred from mentioning ſome circumſtances of his life, if the elegant author of a late performance, entitled "The preſent ſtate of Muſic in Germany, the Netherlands, and the United Provinces," had not been too particular on this ſubject, to leave any thing for me to add. The miniature, in this note, could only have exhibited a faint reſemblance; it is the lively full-length portrait drawn by Doctor Burney, which comes the neareſt to the excellent original. . . . . The muſic of Pergoleſe, not

union, from which arose the pleasures of Europe, and which drew from each audience more delicious tears than had ever been offered by enthusiasm to talents.(*n*)

I stop,

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not vibrating (as modern music too often does) unmeaningly on the ear, spoke to the understanding, and the passions. It is impossible not to admire, and difficult to avoid envying a Genius, who crowded into a life of scarcely thirty years, such a knowledge of harmony, such facility of composition, and so rich a melody. His great master-pieces the "Salve Regina," and the "Stabat mater," seem destined to maintain a pre-eminence amidst all the fantastical variations, to which the empire of music is perpetually subject. He was attacked by a pleurisy, which soon proved fatal. The notion that some rival, exasperated at his superior merit, had poisoned him, is entirely groundless. He was born at Naples in 1706, and died about the year 1733. K.

(*n*) France hath begun to taste the fruits of a similar union, since one of her best poets, and one of her best musicians have tuned their lyres together.

The poet to whom the Chevalier alludes, is Mr. de Marmontel, of the French academy, and historiographer to the king, but better known in England by his "Moral tales," and "Belisarius." The musician is Mr. Gretry, whose compositions are full of harmony, and taste. Several friends of Mr. de Marmontel prevailed on him to write, and adapt some dramatic pieces, to a kind of Gallico-Italian music, which hath lately been introduced, and gains great ground, in France.

The

I ſtop, and am apprehenſive of that natural attraction, which might detain me too long near ſuch intereſting objects. Let me confine myſelf within the limits of my ſubject, and only conſider the numerous efforts which mankind have made in ſo many different ways, as a ſort of reckoning to be

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The very favorable reception which the united labours of theſe elegant aſſociates have met with, render all encomiums needleſs. The titles of ſome of the pieces are "Le huron," "Zemire, et Azor," "L'ami de la maiſon, &c." Mr. de Marmontel, who ſeems in all his works to have imagined that genius, and vertue ſhould never ſeparate, hath lately employed his abilities in pleading the cauſe of the diſtreſſed. The reader may recollect the dreadful fire in the Hotel Dieu, the ſituation of which is equally unhealthy, and confined. Mr. de Marmontel, in his "Voix des pauvres," a performance where the graces of poetry, and the effuſions of humanity are charmingly interwoven, enforces the neceſſity of removing the hoſpital to a purer, and more convenient ſpot. This epiſtle, (for ſuch is the form into which the author hath thrown it,) is dedicated to the king, and ſold for the benefit of the poor.

The charitable poet ſeems leſs inſpired than the wiſe archbiſhop of Paris with the ſpirit of the *good old times*, which, intent on prayers, and proceſſions, conceived all human aid to be beneath its notice. It is more than probable that the wicked Marmontel, inſtead of joining in the ſervice at the church of *Notre Dâme*, was either writing

thrown into the general progress of our intellectual faculties, and is so much of the road already travelled over, in the vast career of the human understanding. It may now be proper to examine whether some spaces in this career, are not more rough, and difficult than others, I shall, for instance, enquire whether

writing verses, or collecting money, for the benefit of misery; whilst the pious prelate sang *Te Deum* at a solemn mass, because only few of his fellow-creatures were buried under the ruins of the *Hotel-Dieu*. A more commodious hospital arising on the contributions of the archbishop, and his flock, would have appeared a better offering to the God of Bounty, than this religious farce, acted by command in every place of worship throughout the city.

We observe this new progress with so much the more satisfaction, as it is posterior to that immortal work, in which the picture of our mental faculties hath been traced by a masterly hand. Whosoever is desirous of forming the most extensive, and exact idea of the advances made by the human understanding, may easily satisfy his curiosity, by reading the preliminary discourse of the "Encyclopedie." This beautiful peristyle of a most magnificent edifice may be considered as the true characteristic of our age; and perhaps the effort which distinguishes this age, the most from the preceding ages, is the having produced a genius for mathematics, the talents of eloquence, and the sagacity of taste, all united in the same individual. (See note *(i)* in this chapter. K.

whether the domain of morality, and polity be not more repugnant to this progreſs, than the domain of ſciences, and arts.

It ſeems evident that at the revival of letters, the human underſtanding groaned under the empire of two tyrants, at once ſo cruel, and ſo formidable, that to conſpire againſt, and overthrow them, was the only method of obtaining freedom. Theſe tyrants were Deſpotiſm, and Superſtition. From an intolerant ſpirit they drew their common arms, for ſlavery always begins with opinion. Alas! of what uſe is the liberty of acting, to thoſe who are debarred from the liberty of thinking? it was, therefore, neceſſary firſt to attack ſuperſtition; and to this ſervice the revival of letters, and the ſeparation of the reformed churches concurred in a wonderful degree. The Goſpellers, who, like all revolters, were obliged, for want of a juridical title, to have recourſe to natural law, attentively ſcrutinized the principles of the civil, and eccleſiaſtical government. Weak in their beginning, and forced to contend at once againſt antiquity, cuſtom, and poſſeſſion, it was neceſſary to preſerve an auſterity in their morals, and ſeverity in their tenets.

It was not therefore without reaſon, that they called themſelves *Reformers.* On the other hand, the church of Rome, warned by this defection, ſhould have accompanied the exerciſe of her power, with more precaution. Controverſy, the dangerous flame of which frequently burns, but always enlightens, ſubmitted every thing to diſcuſſion. From this theological labour came forth an unexpected fruit. Philoſophy aroſe ſlowly on the ruins of opinion. She taught the people, their rights, the ſovereigns, their duty, and all, moderation. Let us examine whether during this long temporal, and ſpiritual war, whether amidſt that immenſe chaos into which the earth ſeemed again plunged, we can perceive any thing uſeful ſpringing up, any amendment in the condition of humanity.

To begin with the north, where I behold a noble, valiant, and generous people, juſt after they had broken in pieces the chains forged by foreign deſpotiſm. Guſtavus drove away tyrants; and theſe tyrants were a debauched prince, and a proud prieſt. For we may obſerve that theſe two different kinds of oppreſſions were, to the misfortune of the nation, long united. Chriſtian the ſecond

of

of Denmark and Troll cauſed the whole ſenate to be maſſacred at a feaſt; they drenched all Sweden in blood. Guſtavus, by expelling the Deſpot, and the Inquiſitor, eſtabliſhed civil, and religious liberty; and thus, founded the proſperity of a people, in whoſe fate all other nations ought to intereſt themſelves, ſince they are brave without cruelty, and warlike without ambition.

As I deſcend towards the ſouth, I perceive Saxony, Heſſe, and the greater part of Germany beginning to preſcribe limits to the inſatiable ſpirit of Charles the fifth, and ſoon afterwards freeing themſelves at once from the cruel yokes of the Pope, and that tyrant, Ferdinand the ſecond. I obſerve them preparing to confirm irrevocably their privileges, and liberties, by the celebrated treaty of Weſtphalia.

As I approach the weſt, I contemplate with pleaſure the progreſs of an induſtrious, and frugal republic. I am aſtoniſhed at its courage, its efforts, and its ſucceſſes; and I enquire who hath been the cauſe of ſuch a revolution. The anſwer is, a cardinal de Granvelle, the miniſter of a tyrant, named Philip the ſecond. I depart from this republic

public increasing in extent, and stability, and laying the foundations of that prosperity, which it hath since enjoyed.

I cross the ocean, and pass into England, where I meet tranquility, and good order, yet every where observe the marks of blood. I learn that during the preceding reign, the Jesuits, emissaries of this very Philip, had, in the name of Mary, a consort worthy of her lord, condemned to execution, hundreds of the citizens. I find a serious and melancholy people, bearing the impressions of past calamities, deeply engraven on their hearts, and I foresee, that the despotism, and the persecution of Mary, must one day serve to cement the edifice of liberty.(o)

Returning, I land in France. There, Henry the Fourth reigns in peace, and through his means,

(o) The martyrdoms during the short reign of Mary, each of which (as Mr. Hume justly observes) was equivalent to an hundred sermons against popery, have exceedingly contributed to *cement the edifice of our religious liberty*; so prophetical were the words, in which that great, but much-neglected pattern to succeeding churchmen, Latimer, bishop of Worcester, addressed his fellow sufferer, Ridley, at the stake. "Cheer up, "good brother, we shall this day kindle such a torch "in England, as, I trust in God, shall never be ex-"tinguished. K.

means, toleration reigns with him; but ſtill the ferment of the mind remains; ſuperſtiſtition *may* make new efforts; yet never can its empire be re-eſtabliſhed, and the catholiciſm of the French will always be the moſt independent on the court of Rome.

I turn my ſteps from the South. Spain is ſtill the home of deſpotiſm, as Rome is the native reſidence of an intolerant ſpirit. But, proceeding towards the Eaſt, I diſcover another Holland, a ſecond federal government; divided, yet not weak; free, yet not factious; where reaſon, and good ſenſe ſo eminently prevail, that it is unneceſſary to enquire whether it be portioned out into ſeveral modes of faith. Whilſt every thing ſeems arrived at ſuch a pitch of amendment, I can no longer fear paſſing the Alps; I ſhall find even in Italy aſylums where wholeſome laws, and good ſyſtems of government flouriſh. I ſhall ſtop with pleaſure in Tuſcany: I ſhall viſit, in particular that wiſe republic, equally as inacceſſible to ſpiritual uſurpations, as to military invaſions. Reſtored at length to my ſolitude, and my meditations, I ſhall not aſſert that all is good, but that all is become

better

better than it uſed to be. There is a progreſs; the world affords hopes.

I am ſenſible that there are perſons whom it will be difficult for me to perſuade. I mean thoſe profound contemplators, who ſecluding themſelves from their fellow-creatures, are aſſiduouſly employed in framing laws for them, and the moſt frequently neglect the care of their domeſtic, and private concerns, to preſcribe to empires that form of government to which they imagine that they ought to ſubmit.(p) Now, as no nation hath as yet adopted their ſyſtem, they imagine that the ſtate of politics is always in its infancy. However extravagant this prepoſſeſſion may be, I certainly ſhall not deny but that there may exiſt ſome governments more perfect, or a greater number of good governments, than are to be met with in the preſent times. But let us remember that Solon did not give to the

(p) The celebrated Hogarth hath repreſented, in one of his moral engravings, a young man who, after having ſquandered away his fortune, is, by his creditors, lodged in goal. There, he ſits, melancholy, and diſconcerted, near a table, whilſt a ſcroll lies under his foot, and bears the following title; *being a new ſcheme for paying the debt of the nation. By T. L. now a priſoner in the Fleet.*

the Athenians the beſt laws which he could poſſibly have enacted, but the beſt laws which they could have followed. In particular, let us allow that the welfare of mankind is of all objects the moſt intereſting, and that even *the good* may be too dearly bought. London is more regular than Paris, Dieppe, than Rouen, and Manheim than Straſburg: yet London, Dieppe, and Manheim were formerly deſtroyed by the flames. What architect will ever adviſe the ſetting fire to Paris, that it may be afterwards rebuilt, on a regular, and magnificent plan? it is only to an unpoliſhed people that a legiſlator can give whatſoever laws he chuſes. The buſineſs of reaſon, of philoſophy, and of ſound polity, is rather to amend than to change the government. Under their benign influence, Democracy ſhould become leſs licentious, Ariſtocracy leſs haughty, and Monarchy, leſs ambitious: even Deſpotiſm, if Deſpotiſm can ſtill exiſt within enlightened nations, will appear more mild, and, at the leaſt, bend to reaſon.(q) Beſides, might we not oppoſe our

(q) We have an example of this amongſt the Danes, who, though it be an hundred years ſince they have ſur-

our modern governments to the ancient governments, and yet find that we had all the advantage? it hath already been obſerved, at the beginning of this work, that Greece beholden with awe by her own times, and with reſpect, by our times, doth not offer to us, when conſidered in the whole, a plan in any degree ſo rational, and well-concerted, as the Dutch, and Helvetic confederacies; neither amongſt her different members, do we perceive a polity of equal weight with the polity of thoſe particular eſtates, which, when aſſembled, form the great eſtates. In Germany, Hamburg, Bremen, Lubec, Augſburg, and all the free cities of the empire, are fortunate plants, growing beneath the ſhade of the oaks which protect them; but the plant in flower hath not conſumed the ſubſtance of the tree which defends it, nor hath the tree, by caſting too thick a ſhade, occaſioned the tender plant to wither. Some authors have aſſerted, that formerly, amongſt well-governed people, abſolute power was almoſt entirely unknown. As for me, I ſhould rather

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ſurrendered their liberties to their prince, do, notwithſtanding enjoy a mild, peaceable, and well-tempered government.

rather be inclined to doubt, whether amongſt thoſe very people, there ever exiſted more liberty, than is enjoyed at preſent. I know that by fixing on a moment within the duration of ages, one may obſerve Peloponneſus, Achaia, Aſia Minor, the Archipelago iſlands, and a part of the coaſts of Italy partaking of a free government; but were not Macedonia, Thrace, Illyrium, and Epirus ſubject to the authority of kings? it muſt be confeſſed that the time when there were even the moſt republics, was not the happieſt time for the people. I place it between the Median war, and Philip of Macedon. At the death of Alexander, all liberty was deſtroyed within the Eaſt. It may perhaps be objected to me, that liberty found an aſylum amidſt the vaſt ſtates of Rome, and Carthage. Amidſt their ſtates? certainly no. If only the cities of Rome, and Carthage are alluded to, the fact may be more readily granted. But can it really be doubted that the Romans exerciſed a ſovereign authority over the conquered provinces, or that the Carthaginians were abſolute tyrants over Spain, Sardinia, Corſica, the Balearic iſlands, &c. If Bern, and Amſterdam governed the Swiſs, and the Hol-

Hollanders, in the ſame manner that theſe nations govern the United Provinces, and the Generalité lands, I ſhould conſider the cities of Bern, and Amſterdam, as the only free cities in Switzerland, and Holland. But the reaſon why theſe two people enjoy a government perfectly free, is becauſe each part of the ſtate, is a ſtate within itſelf; it is becauſe the republic is but compoſed of an infinity of republics. To theſe reſpectable ſocieties, may be added all the Hans, and Imperial towns, Venice, Genoa, Poland, and even Sweden; *for a country where a king is but a ſenator in the council, and but a conſul, when with the army, may well be conſidered as a republic.(r)* Within this liſt, we may alſo include

(r) The reader, in juſtice to the elegant author of this work, will naturally imagine that when the remark concerning Sweden was written, a young ambitious monarch had not effected a revolution in his kingdom, by means as ſecretly, and artfully concerted, as they were rapidly executed. To renounce, with all the public ſolemnity of oaths, every claim to arbitrary power, and in the next moment, to acquire the moſt abſolute authority, is a maſter-ſtroke in politics, of which it would be difficult to find another inſtance. To what future glorious exceſſes muſt the patriotiſm of this man be carried, before he can atone for ſuch an act of perfidy! K.

clude England, the government of which, unknown to the ancients, approaches nearer to a republic, than to a monarchy. Let us now ſum up the liberty, exiſting in the preſent times, and compare it with the liberty which may be diſcovered during any other epoch whatſoever. Yet, would there be the leaſt room for the compariſon, were we to throw into this calculation the liberty which ſtill reigns even in the midſt of the moſt unlimited monarchies? amongſt the ancients, there was ſcarcely any medium between a republic, and tyranny; but beſides that tyranny is become more unuſual, ſince the middle of the laſt century, the greater number of thoſe provinces which compoſe our modern monarchies, enjoy privileges, laws, and cuſtoms, which limit the ſovereign authority. The Auſtrian power is entirely formed of ſcattered provinces, all of which have ſtates, entitled to grant, and raiſe, themſelves, the neceſſary ſubſidies. Several poſſeſſions belonging to the electors, and the princes of the empire, are inveſted with the ſame privileges.(s) In

(s) The greater part of the ſtates of Germany have arbitrators eſtabliſhed amongſt them, ſtiled *Auſtregæ*.

We

France, Languedoc, Brittany, Provence, Alface, Flanders, the Artois, and the provinces of Foix, Navarre, and Bigorre, are legally repreſented; and, throughout the whole kingdom, the tribunals carefully watch over the preſervation of properties. Caſtile, and Arragon,(*t*) formerly had ſtates, but theſe people have now loſt them, whilſt in their place, is ſubſtituted a certain *I the king*, which might

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We muſt have often obſerved the princes of the empire, acting as mediators between an oppreſſed people, and their ſovereigns. Of this, the duke of Wurtemburgh hath given a recent inſtance.

(*t*) The kingdom of Arragon formerly enjoyed a privilege, to which all nations have a natural right, but which no exertions of human fortitude, and wiſdom, have ever yet been able to maintain, for any length of time, inviolate. In virtue of a ſolemn contract, entered into by the people, and their firſt monarch, and ratified by all his ſucceſſors, it became lawful to take up arms againſt the ſovereign, who ſhould infringe the liberties of his ſubjects. Peter of Arragon prevailed on the *Cortes*, or parliaments to aboliſh this right; and, afterwards, Philip the ſecond, who, like a true tyrant, always concluded that if a nation had a ſingle right remaining, they enjoyed one too many, reduced them into the moſt abject ſtate of ſubjection. Dr. Buſching obſerves that Philip the fifth, incenſed againſt the Arragonians, for having, in 1605, eſpouſed the cauſe of the Archduke Charles the third, annulled all their privileges; but it ſeems more evident that Philip the ſecond had left this ready done to his hands. K.

might with reaſon prove ſomewhat offenſive to the ear of an Athenian. This alſo muſt be confeſſed; on ſome occaſions, times of oppreſſion ariſe, during which, privileges ſleep; but were the ancient republics without their demagogues? did Alcibiades, Amilcar, or Sylla leave much power in the hands of the people?

The reader will pleaſe to obſerve, that in this parallel, I have not gone beyond the limits of the continent; but were I to take in North-America, I might well ſet Solon, and Lycurgus at defiance, by oppoſing to them, only Lock, and William Penn. Let us examine the laws of Penſylvania, and Carolina, and compare them with the laws of Sparta, and we ſhall find them differing from each other, like the domeſtic government of a farm, and the rules of the order of *Saint Benedict*. Who will not enjoy a pleaſing ſenſation, when he reflects, that a tract of more than four thouſand ſquare leagues, is now increaſing its population, under the auſpices of liberty, and reaſon, whilſt every inhabitant feels that the leading principle of its moral ſyſtem is equality, as the leading principle of its political ſyſtem is agriculture?

CHAP. V.

Continuation of the preceding ſubject. Agriculture and population are the trueſt proofs of the happineſs of the people.

IF we reckon only nations under ſettled forms of government, it muſt be evident, from the courſe of theſe enquiries, that the modern nations are much more inſtructed, and can boaſt of at leaſt as ample a portion of liberty, as ever was enjoyed by any of the ancient nations. But as knowledge, and even liberty are only ſerviceable ſo far as they concur towards *the acquiſition of the greateſt happineſs of the greateſt number of individuals*, it becomes neceſſary to enquire whether alſo from theſe circumſtances we may draw ſuch concluſions, as have been already proved by former

former inductions. We have reaſon to ſuppoſe that the felicity of mankind is as great during the preſent times, as it hath been in any æra whatſoever. Let us now ſeek out for ſome diſtinguiſhing mark, ſome particular ſymptoms which may ſerve as the ſtandards of this Public Happineſs. The two proofs which will naturally preſent themſelves, are agriculture, and population. I name agriculture before population, becauſe that whenſoever a large quantity of land, within a nation not compoſed of an extenſive number of individuals, is induſtriouſly, and carefully cultivated, the conſequence muſt be, that this nation will conſume a great deal, and add to the neceſſary aliments of life, thoſe comforts, and conveniencies, which form the happineſs of life. If, on the contrary, the increaſe of the people be in proportion to the increaſe of agriculture, what can be concluded from hence, but that this multiplication of the human ſpecies, like the multiplication of every other ſpecies, ariſes ſolely from their well-being? agriculture is, therefore, not only a diſtinguiſhing mark of the felicity of the people, but anterior, and preferable to the ſymptoms of population.

Is the agriculture of the moderns ſuperior to the agriculture of the ancients? were this queſtion to be conſidered in its full extent, it would require a ſeparate work. There is no ſubject which could afford more ample room to the parade of erudition, and in this conſideration, the learned muſt perceive a powerful allurement. But yet, of all the enquiries into the ſituations of antiquity, this enquiry hath been the moſt neglected. As for me, I ſhall think it ſufficient to hazard ſome conjectures, and to ſupport them by ſome few authorities, perſuaded as I am, that whenſoever a writer feels no inclination to become polemical, it cannot be difficult to mark thoſe principal points, on which an impartial man ſhould reſt his opinion. Heaps of erudition are only for the obſtinate critic, whom they cannot convert; to the judicious reader, who might otherwiſe be enlightened, they are terrible.

Although Terentius Varro, and Columella have cited a great number of Greek authors, who have written on agriculture,(u) I ſhould ima-

(u) Magna porro et Græcorum turba eſt de ruſticis rebus præcipiens, &c. (Col. de re ruſtica, lib. 1. cap.

imagine that in our days, when we mention the modes of cultivation, peculiar to the ancients, we ſet forward from the firſt ages of Rome. At the beginning, two acres *(journaux,)* *(x)* included all the land belonging to each family. In the more proſperous times, when the republic became enriched by conqueſts, ſome ambitious magiſtrates, deſirous of purchaſing the favour of the people, by an extraordinary act of condeſcenſion, propoſed to allot ſeven acres to every family, a diviſion which was conſidered as exorbitant, and which never took place. From hence the moderns have concluded that the Roman agriculture muſt have been carried to the higheſt perfection, ſince two acres of land were ſufficient

cap. 1.) Terentius Varro mentions the names of fifty.

(x) It is thus that I ſhall always tranſlate the word *juger*, ſince it doth not relate preciſely to any of our meaſures. The *juger* contained twenty-eight thouſand, eight hundred ſquare feet, which is ſomewhat more than half an acre. According to Arbuthnot, two *jugera* are one Engliſh acre, and a quarter, a meaſure rather exceeding the French *arpent royal*. But the produce of the *juger* may be better eſtimated, by a paſſage in Columella, lib. 2. c 9. where, treating of ſeed, he obſerves, "*jugerum agri pinguis, plerumque modios tritici quatuor, mediocris quinque poſtulat.*

for the ſubſiſtance of a whole family, in which we may reckon about five perſons. But theſe admirers of antiquity were not aware that even the proofs which they brought to ſupport their opinion, tended to its deſtruction, according to the common proverb, *who proves too much, proves nothing*. We may reckon that in a labouring family, each individual annually conſumes two *ſetiers* of corn, an allowance being made for the women, and children. To a Roman family, therefore, ten *ſetiers* of corn were annually neceſſary. Now, it ſeldom happens, howſoever well cultivated the land may be, that there is no occaſion for it, at any time, to lie fallow;*(y)* and that land which produces a return from the ſeed ſown of ſeven to one, may be counted good land. Two Jugera, the meaſure of which

(y) Columella recommends a domain of arable lands, and heath. "*Terreniſque aliis cultis atque aliis ſilveſtribus, et aſperis,*" (l. 1. c. 2.) This paſſage proves that then, as in the preſent times, many parts of Italy conſiſted of heaths, and bad lands. . . . . I have retained the *ſetier* in the tranſlation, to avoid a blunder, by an attempt to reduce it into an Engliſh meaſure; and the rather, becauſe the authority to which I have referred, makes the *ſetier*, (corn meaſure) twelve buſhels. The Paris *ſetier*, (wine meaſure) is four quarts. K.

which did not exceed by a quarter the meaſure of a Paris acre, could ſcarcely have produced, including the year of fallowing, and a year of ſervice, more than ſix *ſetiers* of wheat, and about an equal quantity of barley, ſetting aſide the ſeed neceſſary to be ſown. We will ſuppoſe that the moſt aſſiduous cultivation could have occaſioned theſe lands to furniſh an annual crop, yet ſtill it is to be preſumed that the ſole product of the third year would be ſome *lupines*, ſome bad peas, or ſome other pulſe of this kind. Thus our Roman family will only have *communibus annis*, two *ſetiers* of wheat, and four *ſetiers* of barley to ſubſiſt on. If this calculation be too low, and the fertility of a well cultivated piece of land ſhould, like a garden, be judged greatly to ſurpaſs the fertility of our extenſive fields, let the product be doubled, and it will be found that ſtill there are not two *ſetiers* of corn to every head, without reckoning that it may be obſerved, that if the daily culture of a ſmall ſpot of ground can render it more fertile, than the ſoil of a large farm, this advantage is alſo counterbalanced by the want of dung, marl, and other manure.

But

But mankind ſtand in need of ſomething more than food; they muſt have arms, raiment, furniture, and utenſils. I readily allow that in a warm climate, a great deal of cloathing is not wanted; but let it be remembered, that a much more plentiful crop hath been raiſed from the earth, than can be expected from ſuch a ſoil as that within the neighbourhood of Rome; that in ſpite of all this, the quantity of corn ſufficient for ſubſiſtance, was not produced, and that, of courſe, no ground remained for the culture of hemp, fruit-trees, timber, &c. From hence, it follows, that it was neceſſary for ſome other labour, beſides agriculture, to aid in procuring a ſubſiſtance for the people. Now, by whom could this labour have been paid for, unleſs by thoſe who enjoyed a ſuperfluity, by thoſe who had a ſubſiſtance beyond their wants, that is to ſay, who poſſeſſed more land than was requiſite for their conſumption, and the conſumption of their family? but from the moment that we admit of an unequal diſtribution, it is no longer aſtoniſhing that a family can ſubſiſt with two acres of land, becauſe each individual, excluſive of his property, reaps the fruits of his induſtry;

and

and it is evident, that in many villages of France, ſeveral families live comfortably, and yet have no ground in their hands. If we can rely on Plutarch, Numa divided the citizens of Rome into different companies of trades, ſuch as the companies of carpenters, of tailors, of goldſmiths, of dyers, &c.(z) Now, theſe trades neceſſarily repreſent a certain quantity of manufactures, and this quantity of manufactures repreſents an overplus of ſubſiſtance, as well amongſt the rich, as within the public revenues: but what idea can be conceived of any diviſion of land, before this fame Numa, who was the firſt who

(z) See *the life of Numa Pompilius*. Mr. Hook, in his Roman hiſtory, hath obſerved that this diviſion is not mentioned either by Livy, or Dionyſius Halicarnaſſius, and that it is even contrary to what this laſt writer aſſerts, namely, that only two kinds of occupations were then known at Rome; and theſe were war, and agriculture. It is a pity that the hiſtorians of antiquity do not quote the authorities to which they may have had recourſe. At preſent, Livy, and Dionyſius are the only authors we know of, for the firſt ages of the republic; but Plutarch poſſibly met with other ſources of information. Beſides, as the Romans had ceremonial habits, ſacrifices, temples, aqueducts, and bridges, there muſt have been tailors, carpenters, maſons, &c.

who ordered the boundaries of farms to be marked out, and rendered them ſacred, by the celebration of ſacrifices, in honour to the God *Terminus?* the words of Dionyſius Halicarnaſſius merit a particular attention. *Numa* (ſaith he) *commanded every proprietor to circumſcribe his eſtate, and to mark out the boundaries of it with ſtones, which received the name of Terminalia.(a)* It is to be obſerved that he doth not ſay that Numa ordered the diviſions to be verified, nor that he directed a new ſurvey to be made, but only that he enjoined each proprietor to mark out the boundaries of his eſtate.

Let us again conſult Dionyſius Halicarnaſſius: we ſhall learn from him, that Tullus Hoſtilius conciliated the affections of the people, by dividing amongſt them thoſe royal domains which Numa had left him: *for the kings* (adds our author) *poſſeſſed rich and fertile fields, from the product of which they raiſed a ſufficiency to defray the expence of the ſacrifices, and keep up their ſplendid manner of living.* Tullus parted his domains amongſt the

(a) Κελευσας γαρ εκαστω περιγραψαι την εαυτου κλησιν, και στησαι λιθους επι τοις οροις, &c. Antiq. Rom. lib. 2. c. 74. pag. 128. tom. 1. Edit. Oxon. 1704.

the pooreſt individuals, who, by theſe means, perceived themſelves relieved from the neceſſity of working as mercenaries.(b) His ſucceſſor Ancus Martius, on his acceſſion to the throne, recalled the attention of the people to agriculture, and renewed the eſtabliſhments introduced by Numa. But, at that time, a diviſion was not the matter in queſtion, any more than under the reign of Tarquin the elder. From what epoch therefore muſt we date it? and why, at the eſtabliſhment of the Cenſus, by Servius Tullius, do we, on a ſudden, obſerve ſo ſtriking a difference

(b) Χώραν εἶχον ἐξαίρετον οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλεῖς πολλὴν καὶ ἀγαθὴν, ἐξ ἧς ἀναιρούμενοι τὰς προσόδους, ἱερά τε θεοῖς ἐπετέλουν, καὶ τὰς εἰς τὸν ἴδιον βίον ἀφθόνως εἶχον εὐπορίας . . . . ταύτην ὁ Τύλλος ἐπέτρεψε τοῖς μηδένα κλῆρον ἔχουσι Ρωμαίων κατ' ἄνδρα . . . . ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τὸ; ἀπόρους των πολιτῶν ἀνέλαβε, παύσας λατρεύοντας τοῖς ἄλλοις. l. 3. c. 1. p. 132.

From this paſſage, it may be obſerved, firſt, that in the reign of Tullus Hoſtilius, there were citizens who had no farms, and who lived by the labour of their hands; ſecondly, that this diviſion was made according to every head, κατ' ανδρα, and not according to every family; thirdly, that it is evident, that from this period, there were citizens in ſuch a ſituation, as enabled them to pay for the labour of others. All theſe circumſtances overthrow the notions which we have conceived of the agriculture, diviſions of land, and equality which reigned amongſt the ancient Romans.

ference in eſtates, and ſuch a multitude of rich citizens? fourſcore centuries, or companies, were to be compoſed ſolely of thoſe citizens who were worth an hundred *minæ*, or about *three hundred and thirty pounds ſterling*, a conſiderable ſum, if we recollect the ſcarcity of ſpecies, and the want of commerce, which circumſtances muſt have increaſed it in a decuple proportion.*(c)* Now, I would aſk if a property of two, four, or ſeven

(c) In the time of Polybius, living was ſo cheap that, at the inns, no prices of proviſions was ſpecified, but a traveller was ſupplied with as much as he could reaſonably want, at the rate of a quarter of an *obolus*, which is not a third of an Engliſh penny. (See Polyb. Paris 1609, fol. lib. 2. p. 103.) The price of ſix Engliſh pecks of wheat was not, at the moſt, above ſixpence ſterling. (See a learned work, written by Mr. *du Pres de St. Maur*, entitled, *Recherches ſur les monnoies*, ch. 3.) . . . . . This gentleman, who is Maſter of the Accounts, and one of the forty, belonging to the French academy, tranſlated, in the earlier part of his life, the "*Paradiſe loſt*" of Milton. Lewis Racine, the ſon of the celebrated dramatic writer, employed his powers in the ſame attempt, but with unequal ſucceſs. The fire, and majeſty of our immortal bard blaze, although by intervals, and, probably, with diminiſhed luſtre, in the glowing numbers of *Saint Maur*; in the cold verſion of Racine, they are totally extinguiſhed. K.

ſeven acres of land, could ever have repreſented ſuch a capital, and if, within a country excluſively attached to agriculture, this Cenſus ought not to have been ſettled, rather from a meaſurement of land, than a valuation of ſpecies.*(d)* It is more reaſonable to ſuppoſe that Numa, Tullus, and Servius concluded it expedient that each family ſhould poſſeſs a certain quantity of land, with a double view of enabling them to acquire ſome ſubſiſtance, and ſecuring their attachment to their native country; that, in fact, two acres of land were conſidered as the ſmalleſt portion which could poſſibly have been allotted, but that, this *Minimum* having been fixed, no

(d) Livy, and Dionyſius Halicarnaſſius alſo furniſh us with ſeveral paſſages, from which we may infer that an inequality of fortune prevailed amongſt the Romans, from the earlieſt times of the republic. I ſhall quote but one paſſage. Theſe two authors agree in aſſerting that Horatius Cocles received, as the reward of his valour, as much land, as he could plough round about in a day. . . . . *Agri quantum uno die circumaravit datum.* (Tit. Liv.)

The text of Dionyſius Halicarnaſſius poſitively mentions the ſame fact. Now, at that period, ſuch a poſſeſſion could not have been thought exorbitant. Beſides, it is well known, with what moderation the Romans conferred lucrative rewards.

no precaution was taken to limit the too great extent of property; in ſhort, that an inequality of fortunes made its firſt appearance with the kings, and continued to exiſt always during the republic. It is thus, that we are to explain the reaſon why, after a lapſe of almoſt four hundred years, from the foundation of Rome, the people ſtill complained that the lands were only diſtributed to them, at the rate of two acres to each family, whilſt ſome Patricians, who held more than five hundred acres, enjoyed a property equivalent to the ſhares of three hundred citizens; and, what is well worthy of our notice, they added, that the land given to them, was ſcarcely ſufficient for their dwelling, or even for their grave;(e) a proof that it was not, at that period,

(e) "Auderent ne poſtulare ut quùm bina jugera agri plebi dividerenter ipſis plus quinquaginta jugera habere liceret? ut ſinguli propè trecentorum civium poſſiderent agros, plebeio homini vix ad tectum neceſſarium, aut locum ſepulturæ ſuus pateret ager." (Tit. Liv. lib. 6.)

In order properly to underſtand this paſſage, and, in general, to take in the full ſcope of the great queſtion, relative to the diviſion of lands, it muſt be recollected that theſe diviſions were made alſo by colonies, and that the Patricians, whether through pride, or through avarice,

period, ſuppoſed that a family could have ſubſiſted on two acres of ground. In the ſame manner, when we obſerve that, in the ſequel, an accuſation of having harboured ſecret deſigns, and flattered the people, was levelled againſt thoſe, who would have introduced an allotment of ſeven acres of land,

avarice, or in ſhort, with a political view of keeping the people in a ſtate of degradation, obſtinately perſiſted in modelling the new diſtributions of ground, after that firſt plan of allotment, of which their anceſtors had given them an example. I ſhould imagine that this was a double act of injuſtice. Firſt, becauſe, circumſtances varying, the extent of lands being more conſiderable, and the public treaſury more opulent, it ſeemed reaſonable, that the diſtributions amongſt the citizens, ſhould have been more ample, and advantageous, at ſuch a period, than it had been, in the time paſt. Secondly, becauſe the new coloniſts were forced to reſide within their little territories; whereas the ancient Plebeians having received a diviſion of lands, ſituated within the neighbourhood of Rome, were enabled to cultivate them, without being obliged either to build on the ſpot, or to quit the city. As to the reſt, I muſt ſtill repeat, that all this proves nothing in favour of the Roman agriculture; for the coloniſts will conſtantly think two acres in a good country ſufficiently alluring: the families of coloniſts being in general confined to three perſons; and beſides, all the reſources of induſtry were left to thoſe, who could not ſubſiſt on the product of their ground.

we muſt underſtand this, as ſtill referring to the portions, divided amongſt the coloniſts, or to the ſmalleſt diſtribution enjoyed by the moſt inconſiderable citizen. Now, as a great number of the Plebeians had either ſold, or alienated their properties, it muſt have been very difficult to have found near Rome, a ſufficient quantity of land to have ſupported a diſtribution of ſeven acres, amongſt theſe individuals; nor could ſuch a plan have been executed, without conſiderably diminiſhing the revenues of the public treaſury, or without attacking the properties of the Patricians, a circumſtance of which they were by far the moſt apprehenſive. In fact, there are but few inſtances of a conduct more iniquitous, than the conduct of theſe vertuous Patricians, ſo revered by all hiſtorians, excepting Mr. Hooke.*(f)* It is in this conduct that every kind

(f) I ſhould have felt a painful emotion of ſurpriſe, if my illuſtrious friend, who thinks, and writes with all the freedom of an honeſt man, had joined the ſervile herd of imitators, and blamed the ſtruggles which were made for liberty. It is to Monteſquieu, that he reſigns the ſhameful "*difficulty of determining whether* "*the inſolence with which the Plebeians made their de-*"*mands, or the eaſy condeſcenſion with which the Senate* "*granted*

kind of enormity is interwoven, from the condemnation of Speius Caſſius, to the murder of the Gracchi: but this we have animadverted on, in a former part of the work. Let us keep within the bounds of our ſubject, and, ſince we are convinced that the diſtributions of lands, amongſt the Romans, prove nothing in favour of agriculture, enquire whether there exiſt other poſitive authorities, capable of throwing more light on this queſtion.

Amidſt the great number of ancient authors, who have written on agriculture, four only have paſſed to poſterity: Marcus Portius Cato, Marcus Terentius Varro, Virgil, and

"*granted them, was the greateſt.*"† The compliment to Mr. Hooke is a laurel over his grave, which will not wither; but if the Chevalier imagines that this author hath an excluſive right to it, to inform him that he is miſtaken, can be no ungrateful return to that juſtice, which he hath ſhewn an Engliſhman. Mr. de Beaufort, a native of France, hath deviated, like Mr. Hooke, from the ſentiments of an unfeeling multitude, and, in his "*Republique Romaine*," approved of that inflexible reſolution, with which the Plebeians oppoſed a moſt abandoned ſet of tyrants, and, in ſome meaſure, ſecured their privileges from encroachments, which were calculated entirely to deſtroy them. K.

† *See* "Eſprit des loix."

Columella.(g) We ſhall not here enter into a detail of thoſe precepts which they have tranſmitted to us. It will be ſufficient ſimply to obſerve that if they differ in ſome parts of this detail, ſtill they agree with tolerable exactneſs, relatively to their general principles, and concur in giving us the ſame idea of the culture peculiar to the Romans. From their writings, we may reaſonably infer that their methods of cultivation approached much nearer to the practice adopted, in the preſent times, throughout Languedoc, Provence, and Italy, than to the cuſtom in the corn-countries, that is to ſay, that they gave the preference to olive-trees, fruit-trees, and, in particular, to the vine, a ſpecies of culture which ſeems, above all others, ſuited to hot climates. As to arable lands, we have no proofs of their having been more fertile, than they are in our days, and in our climates. The ancients ſowed on an acre of land about four, or five *modii* of wheat, that is, about ſix, or ſeven pecks, and an half, Engliſh corn meaſure.(h) It is true indeed that Terentius

(g) May we not add to this liſt Palladius Rutilius? K.

(h) *Jugerum agri pinguis plerumque modios tritici quatuor, mediocris quinque poſtulat: adorei modios novem, ſi eſt*

rentius Varro mentions ſome places in Italy, where the ſeed returns ten, and even as far as fifteen to one; but his manner of expreſſing himſelf evidently proves that he conſidered ſuch a product, as very uncommon, and that it was not to be met with in the neighbourhood of Rome.(*i*) Beſides, Cicero (whoſe authority muſt be allowed to have additional weight, as this celebrated orator was himſelf a great farmer) informs us, that the ſeed uſually returned eight to one, and that when the return was as ten to one, all the gods were ſuppoſed to have been propitious to this increaſe.(*k*) The greater part of the lands lay fallow during every other year. Virgil and Columella recommend this practice for thoſe lands, which produce barley, or

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eſt lætum ſolum, ſi mediocre, decem deſiderat. (Colum. l. 2. c. 9.) Varro allows one *modius* more to each acre, but this practice doth not differ greatly from our practice.

(*i*) *Seruntur fabæ modii IV. in jugero, tritici V. ordei VI. farris X. . . . . Obſervabis. . . . . Quantum valet regio ut in eodem ſemine alicubi, cum decimo redeat, alicubi cum quinquedecimo, ut in Etruria, et locis aliquot in Italia.*

(*k*) *Ager efficit cum octavo ut benè agatur. Verum ut omnes dii adjuvent, cum decimo. . . .* (in Verrem.)

wheat.(*l*) It is true indeed that Varro mentions certain lands, which never lay fallow, but theſe were Olinthian lands, and not in Italy; this alſo was ſtill leſs the caſe, within the neighbourhood of Rome. Beſides, the ſame author immediately, and without diſſenting from his method, quotes one Licinius, whoſe advice it is that the lands ſhould lie fallow, every other year.(*m*) The ſingle word *Vervactum*,(*n*) intended to expreſs a fallow land, ſufficiently proves that this cuſtom was common amongſt the Romans. It is alſo evident from ſeveral other paſſages, that all the ground was not cultivated. Such is the paſſage in which Columella recommends the choice of a domain, compoſed of arable lands,

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(*l*) *Ordeum niſi ſolutum et ſiccum locum non patitur, atque illa vicibus annorum requietum agitatumque alternis, et quam lætiſſimum volunt arvum.* (Col. l. 2. c. 9.)

"Alternis idem tonſas ceſſare novales
"Et ſegnem patiere ſitu dureſcere campum."
(Virg. *Georg.* lib. 1.)

(*m*) *Agrum alternis annis relinqui oportet, aut paulo levioribus ſeminibus ſerere id eſt quæ minus fugunt terram.* (l. 1. c. 44.)

(*n*) *Vervactum*, (i. e. *vere actum*, i. e. *verno tempore aratum*,) land that hath been fallow, and is turned in the ſpring to be ſown the next year. (Ainſworth's dict. laſt ed. by Morell, 1773.)

lands, and of uncultivated lands.(*o*) I allow that it may be objected to me, that this author hath written at a time, when agriculture was falling to decay, amongſt the Romans; but it would be eaſy to demonſtrate, that at every period, they had vaſt paſtures, and untilled lands. It might alſo be added that the famines, of which the firſt ages of the republic afford us frequent inſtances, and the importations of corn from Sicily, and Greece, allowed on different occaſions, form new preſumptions which riſe in oppoſition to that ſingular preference, given by ſome, to the Roman agriculture, rather than to the modern agriculture. As to the agriculture of certain privileged countries, ſuch as Sicily, ſome parts of Greece, Egypt, and ſeveral provinces of Aſia Minor, it need only be mentioned to congratulate thoſe happy regions on the nature of their climate, and their ſoil, which almoſt ſpontaneouſly produce that which cannot be raiſed elſewhere, but by a long, and toilſome labour.(*p*) The only cir-

 cumſtance

(*o*) *Terreniſque aliis cultis, atque aliis ſilveſtribus, et aſperis.* (l. 1. c. 2.)

(*p*) Mauritania, Barbary, and Egypt, although languiſhing under an oppreſſive government, ſtill enjoy this

cumſtance to be enquired into, is, whether the laws of the ancients, and their application to the arts of huſbandry, enabled them to eſtabliſh a ſtate of agriculture, ſuperior to our ſtate of agriculture, abſtracted from every local advantage. Now, I muſt confeſs that I do not perceive any point which operates in behalf of the ancient ſtate of agriculture, nor ſhall I ever ſuppoſe that there can be the leaſt cauſe to envy it, until I ſhall have been furniſhed with new arguments, deciſive of its pre-eminence. On the contrary, were it neceſſary to maintain an oppoſite opinion, I ſhould not be at a loſs for reaſons ſufficiently plauſible. I will reſt contented with producing ſuch, as ſeem abſolutely to determine this matter in favour of the modern ſtate of agriculture: and theſe are the alteration in the temperature of the air, and the decreaſe of foreſts. Mr. Hume hath obſerved, after Abbé du Bos, that "*Italy is warmer at preſent, than it was in ancient times.*"(q) In the four

this local privilege which furniſhes them with an overplus of ſubſiſtance, capable of ſupplying whole nations.

(q) It muſt not be concealed that Mr. Wallace hath anſwered to this article in the diſſertation, written by Mr.

four hundred and eightieth year from the foundation of Rome, the froſt deſtroyed all the fruit-trees, the *Tyber* was entirely frozen, and

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Mr. Hume; but, to ſay the truth, he ſeems only to have anſwered in order to ſupport a kind of wager, that he would not let any argument paſs, without a reply. He hath not been more ſucceſsful on this, than on many other occaſions. He produces ſome inſtances of ſevere froſts in the warm climates. He mentions alſo the winter of 1709. (*See diſſertation on the numbers of mankind, Append. p.* 276.) Doth Juvenal obſerve that it only happened once that a ſuperſtitious woman broke the ice of the Tyber? and although the orange-trees have ſometimes been deſtroyed by the froſt, in the Hieres iſlands, and at Nice, yet when I perceive theſe trees growing there, in the open ground, whilſt in all France, and in Lombardy, they grow only in tubs, and in the green-houſe, am I not juſtified in remarking that thoſe parts are warmer, than elſewhere? Strabo obſerves that, in his time, no grapes ripened north of the Cevennes. It was for want of knowing how to cultivate the vine, anſwers Mr. Wallace. What logic!*

From

* *I am convinced that the liberal author of this work will not be diſpleaſed to find the remarks of Mr. Wallace quoted more fully. The* diſſertation on the numbers of mankind *is become ſcarce, and therefore, in juſtice to the writer, it is proper to lay before the reader, thoſe paſſages, to which he, poſſibly, may have no opportunity of referring. I am not, on this occaſion, the champion of Mr. Wallace, although I admire his other productions, and, in them, confeſs the force, and ſolidity of his arguments.* (Neither will it appear that the temperature

and the ground was covered with ſnow, during the ſpace of forty days. Juvenal, in his picture of a ſuperſtitious woman, repreſents

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From the time of Columella, an alteration was felt in the temperature of the air; as is evident from this paſſage. *Multos enim jam memorabiles authores comperi perſuaſum habere longo ævi ſitu qualitatem cœli ſtatumque mutari.* Amongſt theſe authors he quotes Saſerna, in the following terms; *Nam eo libro quem de agricultura ſcriptum reliquit mutatum cœli ſtatum ſic colligit quodquæ regionis antea propter hyemis aſſiduam violentiam nullam ſtirpem vitis aut oleæ depoſitam cuſtodire potuerint, nunc mitigato jam et intepeſcente priſtino frigore, largiſſimis olivitatibus, liberique vindemiis exuberent, ſed hæc ſive falſa, ſeu vera ratio eſt, litteris aſtrologiæ concedatur.* (lib. 1.) We may obſerve, from the doubt in which Columella hath left us, that this alteration was not, during his time,

perature of climates has been altered by the culture of the earth, from what Mr. Hume quotes from Strabo, that "north of the Cevennes, Gaul produces not figs, and olives; "and the vines which have been planted bear not grapes that "will ripen;" for fruits are very different from corns, and other things which are *neceſſary* for the ſubſiſtance of man. Hence, while corn-fields were richly cultivated, the culture of fruits might have made ſlow progreſs from one country to another, ſo that the want of them might have been owing not to want of heat, but often to the neglect of the inhabitants, and to their particular cuſtoms, and opinions. The emperor Domitian† publiſhed an edict forbidding any more vines to be planted in Italy, and commanding many which were already planted in the provinces to be immediately rooted up. (*Differt. on the numb. of mankind, App. p.* 278.) K.

(† *Philoſtrat. vit. Apoll. Tyan. lib.* 6, *cap.* 17.)

ſents her as breaking the ice of the *Tyber*, that ſhe might perform her ablutions.(*r*) To theſe obſervations, Mr. Hume adds a paſſage from Diodorus Siculus,(*s*) in which that author gives ſuch a deſcription of Gaul, as may, in

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time, very ſtrikingly marked; and as it is evident that the ſituation of the heavenly bodies hath undergone no change, we can only attribute it to the improvement in agriculture, which, whilſt it fell to decay, amongſt the Romans, might have flouriſhed in Gaul, in Aſia, and in Africa.

We learn alſo from Phyſics, how much it is the nature of woods to render the climate cold, as they are the conſtant cauſe of that interpoſition of clouds, and fogs, between the ſun, and us. In open, and cultivated countries, the water, falling on the ſurface of the earth, meets with inclined planes, on which it runs rapidly to diſcharge itſelf into vaſt reſervoirs. The dykes, canals, torrents, and rivers are as ſo many beds open to receive it. On the contrary, when the water falls within the foreſts, it lodges on the branches, and the leaves of the trees, and is divided over an infinity of ſurfaces. In this ſtate, it is like the brackiſh waters on graduated buildings, that is, in a perpetual tendency to evaporation. On the other hand, the water which lies at the feet of trees, and introduces itſelf amongſt the buſhes, and briars, ſcarcely ever is diſſipated. From theſe circumſtances ariſe the frequency of clouds, and fogs, and the humidity of the earth.

(*r*) Hybernum fractâ glaciê deſcendet in amnem,
Ter matutino Tyberi mergetur. Juv.

(*s*) Lib. 4.

in our days, be applied to Norway; he alſo mentions another paſſage in Strabo,(*t*) who informs us that no grapes ripened north of the Cevennes. Now, it is well known that the temperature of the air depends more on the nature of the ſoil, and the perfection of agriculture, than on the greater, or leſſer diſtance from the Equator. Quebec is in nearly the ſame latitude as Paris, and yet Canada is covered with ice, during one half of the year. This is alſo the caſe in a great part of Ruſſia, which is much colder than Germany, and Holland, although it be ſituated more to the ſouth. Of the vaſt quantity of wood, which antiently covered Italy, we may eaſily form a judgment, by conſidering how readily the Romans built the moſt numerous fleets. In general, we can have no proper conception of the armaments of Xerxes, of the Carthaginians, and of the Romans, nor even of the armaments of Saint Lewis, on the coaſts of Provence, at a later period, unleſs we ſuppoſe that there was formerly more wood, than is to be found at preſent, and that it was always ſituated within reach of the ſhores.

Every

(*t*) Lib. 4.

Every one muſt have heared of that ſacred foreſt, which Cæſar ordered to be cut down, during the ſiege of Marſeilles. Now, it may be aſſerted that *all Provence doth not produce a ſingle acre of wood, fit for timber work.*(u) The draining of many marſhes, the opening of a free current for ſtagnated waters, in an infinite number of places, and particularly in that part of Gaul, called Belgica, are freſh proofs of the increaſe of agriculture. But what hath already been advanced, is undoubtedly ſufficient to convince any one, not wedded to a favorite ſyſtem, or inclined to torture facts, in order to draw over ſome depoſitions to his ſide.

We are now to enquire whether population hath made an equal progreſs: and this is a queſtion which would have been encompaſſed with difficulties, if two learned Scotchmen, by collecting the beſt authorities, as well for the affirmative, as for the negative, had not placed it in the cleareſt point of view, of which it is ſuſceptible.(x) The great writer, and

(u) At leaſt, if we except the mountain of Eſtrelle, and the neighbouring country of the Alps.

(x) Mr. Hume in his eſſay on "*the populouſneſs of ancient nations*;" and Mr. Wallace in his "*diſſertation on the*

and amiable philoſopher Mr. Hume, who blends the elegance of diſcuſſion, with all the allurements of erudition, and who poſſeſſing in a moſt diſtinguiſhed degree the art of making others decide, whilſt he remains himſelf in doubt, knows continually how, under the appearance of an enlightened ſcepticiſm, to bring others over to that opinion, whereto he is ſecretly inclined; Mr. Hume hath *conjectured*, and *perſuaded* us, that the antient nations

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the numbers of mankind." Theſe two pieces are tranſlated into French, but with what degree of fidelity, I cannot determine.

The tranſlation of the *diſſertation* by Mr. Wallace, is, according to my humble opinion, exceedingly well executed. There are ſome omiſſions, but moſt of theſe are juſtifiable, and muſt be conſidered as the prudent cancelling of paſſages, the republication of which, ſince they convey a cenſure againſt the *Roman Catholic religion*, would in France have been no leſs dangerous, than unbecoming. The reader will not be ſurpriſed to find that one of theſe paſſages, which the tranſlator was afraid of copying, is, in the diſſertation, no more than a quotation from the author of *Le Siecle de Louis XIV.* and taken from the fourteenth chapter of the firſt volume, and the thirty-ſecond chapter of the ſecond volume of that celebrated work. Although written by a warm admirer of this prince, it contains a juſt, and ſpirited condemnation of thoſe impolitic perſecutions, to which his proteſtant ſubjects were expoſed. K.

nations were not more populous, than are the modern nations. On his part, he hath ſpared no enquiries, in order to enable the reader to determine this point. He was informed of the diſſertation, written by Mr. Wallace, and maintaining an opinion directly oppoſite to his own. He invited the author to publiſh his performance. Mr. Wallace did publiſh it, and added an anſwer to Mr. Hume; but in this anſwer, erudition and argument, not being entirely exempted from prejudice, ſophiſtry, and even harſhneſs, ſometimes betray the *Caledonian*(*y*) in the friend of the Greeks.

(*y*) The obſervations on the ſtate of Scotland, which take up only few of the laſt pages, are, certainly, the moſt unexceptionable parts of the *diſſertation*. They were written ſoon after the late rebellion, and exhibit a juſt, and ſeaſonable picture of the ſituation of that country. The ſpirit of agriculture, which Mr. Wallace ſo warmly recommended, and which, at that period, was ſo little felt within the northern diſtricts of our iſland, hath lately influenced a conſiderable number of the land-holders; and, in many places, the once barren, and inhoſpitable moor is converted into fruitful fields. Of this, ſufficient proofs are mentioned in a late *Tour*, written by Mr. Pennant. To that work, in which the author wears the amiable, but ſingular character of *an unprejudiced Engliſhman*, I ſhould have referred the reader, without treſpaſſing on his patience,

to

Greeks. We ſhall, now, endeavour to give our readers an idea of the principal reaſons, on which theſe two authors ground their aſſertions.

According to Mr. Hume,(z) *there is very little ground, either from reaſon, or obſervation, to conclude the world eternal, or incorruptible: and if the general ſyſtem of things, and human ſociety of courſe, have any gradual revolutions, they are too ſlow to be diſcernible in that ſhort period which is comprehended by hiſtory and tradition.* Although diſeaſes have varied, it muſt

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to aſſure him, that in paſſing through other parts of Scotland, unnoticed in the *Tour*, I have perceived the flouriſhing effects of a growing attention to agriculture, and the civilizing of unpoliſhed individuals; but whilſt a diſapprobation of *meaſures* hath hurried us into illiberal extremes, it is but common juſtice to ſeize on every opportunity to convince the multitude, that, howſoever diſguſting *men* may be, the ſeats of their nativity are not ſo horrible as they imagine. Becauſe the glowing lines of Churchill tell ſome bitter, and notorious truths, the dupe of party ſeems determined to believe that North-Britain is the land, where

"*Half ſtarv'd ſpiders feed on half ſtarv'd flies.*" K.

(z) The reader will pardon me for having deviated from a verbal tranſlation, where the paſſages (printed in italics) of the originals correſpond with the expreſſions of the French work. K.

must be equally difficult to draw any inference from this circumstance: *diseases are mentioned in antiquity, which are almost unknown to modern medicine; and new diseases have arisen, and propagated themselves, of which there are no traces in ancient history.* Besides, our author hath very ingeniously observed, that *mankind multiply fast in every colony, or new settlement; where it is an easy matter to provide for a family; and where men are no wise straitened, or confined, as in long-established governments.* That *history tells us frequently of plagues which have swept away the third, or fourth part of a people: yet, in a generation, or two, the destruction was not perceived; and the society had again acquired their former number.* This excellent remark hath been verified since by Abbé Expilly, whose calculations prove that the losses occasioned in Provence, by the great plague of 1720, are already repaired. Since therefore *general physical causes ought entirely to be excluded from the question concerning the populousness of ancient, and modern times, it will be requisite, if we would bring it to some determination, to compare both the domestic, and political situation of these two periods, in order to judge of the facts by their moral causes.*

The chief difference between the domeſtic œconomy of the ancients, and that of the moderns conſiſts in the practice of ſlavery, which prevailed among the former. A barbarous cuſtom, which ſeparated the human ſpecies into two claſſes, and which unworthily debaſed the moſt ſerviceable of all individuals, ſince, during a long ſpace of time, the hands devoted to the labours of agriculture, and to induſtry, were not more free than the hands employed in the drudgeries of the houſehold. Now, if every oppreſſive adminiſtration tends to the decreaſe of population, this abject and unfortunate claſs of men muſt have multiplied leſs than the other claſſes. To this general preſumption, Mr. Hume adds the moſt ingenious obſervations. He proves that the majority of the ſlaves of the Greeks, and the Romans, were compoſed of foreigners, and bought from amongſt the priſoners of war, and pirates. Men, and women, caſt into captivity, were purchaſed at a price ſo much the cheaper, as a larger number of ſlaves had been expoſed to ſale; and theſe temporary expeditions, theſe particular events, in conſequence of which whole nations were reduced to bondage, by glutting the markets,

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brought down the prices conſiderably lower than the rates ariſing from a regular, and daily commerce. The trifling ſums with which the antients ſo eaſily purchaſed their foreign ſlaves, induced them to prevent, in their families, the propagation of their own ſlaves. It is evident, that far from encouraging ſuch a practice, their political laws, and the rules of the ableſt œconomiſts were directly oppoſed to it. Now, if, on the one hand, it was natural for this claſs of individuals, when reſtrained from the generation of their ſpecies, and overburdened with labour, to tend towards depopulation; and, if, on the other hand, it became neceſſary to recruit that claſs of free men, whom the fate of war had thrown into captivity, may we not infer from hence, that there was a general decreaſe amongſt the numbers of mankind?*(a)*

(*a*) Amidſt a number of cruelties, inflicted on ſlaves, and taken notice of by Mr. Hume, I ſhall only mention the cuſtom, eſtabliſhed at Rome, of ſending into an iſland of the Tyber, there, to periſh through hunger, every individual whoſe infirmities had rendered him uſeleſs. Such a method of delivering an invalid from his miſeries, doth not reflect any great credit on ſo vertuous a people. The chace of the Ilotes hath been already

But it may be aſked, whether, whilſt in the manners of the ancients we diſcover ſome cuſtoms which retarded the propagation of the human ſpecies, we do not alſo perceive in their governments, and legiſlations, advantages which outweighed theſe inconveniencies? Greece, Aſia Minor, Sicily and Italy were divided into ſeveral little republics. There, the diſtribution of fortunes was more equal, the armies were leſs numerous, the pay of the troops was more eaſy, and expences were, in general, leſs burdenſome; all theſe circumſtances were favorable to population. True; yet, on the other hand, theſe little republics were almoſt in perpetual war, their battles were more bloody, and followed by more dreadful perpetrations of barbarity. Beſides, diſſentions and civil diſcords were the cauſe of frequent maſſacres; and whenſoever one faction, after an obſtinate engagement, became victorious, all the members of the oppoſite faction were driven into

already mentioned. But all this muſt go for nothing. It is not, on this account, leſs true that the Spartans, and the Romans were exceedingly vertuous men; and that we, *moderns*, who have our hoſpitals for the old, the incurable, the orphan, and the foundling, are but a gang of abandoned wretches.

into baniſhment. The reſult was, that widows, orphans, exiles, and proſcribed individuals were every where to be ſeen, amongſt theſe *happy* people. But, if, by accident, theſe divided republics fell into the hands of a deſpot, nothing could equal the cruelty with which he reigned; for, it muſt be confeſſed, that if an abſolute government be uſually peculiar to great monarchies, tyranny, properly ſo called, ſeldom riſes but on the ruins of republics. I can believe that we have no idea of that wiſdom which actuated the governments of Sparta, and of Rome, yet it muſt be acknowledged that we are as little able to conceive that any cruelty could have been equal to the cruelties of the Dionyſii, and of Agathocles. Of what conſequence is the pretended mildneſs of ſome ancient legiſlation, when this very mildneſs leads to proſcription, and to tyranny? Mr. Hume very judiciouſly obſerves, that the abolition of capital puniſhments in the caſe of convicted Roman citizens, gave birth to the cruelties of Sylla, of Marius, and of the Triumviri. In fact, it ſeemed as if aſſaſſination was become neceſſary to compenſate for the indulgence of a law, too weak to pre-

vent the commiſſion of a crime, and ſuffering the moſt dangerous citizens to eſcape with life.*(b)*

Trade, and manufactures have always been conſidered as the ſources of population; *but great intereſt of money, the imperfection of navigation, and great profits of trade, are an infallible indication, that induſtry and commerce are but in their infancy.* Mr. Hume proves that amongſt the Greeks, and Romans, the intereſt of money was always at twelve *per cent.* that, frequently, eſtates, ſuch as houſes, and other immoveables were ſold for four years purchaſe; in ſhort, that *an hundred* per cent. *profit was made on a cargo of two talents, ſent to no greater diſtance than from Athens, to the Adriatic.* It may certainly be objected, that whereſoever luxury doth not prevail, *agriculture is the ſpecies of induſtry chiefly requiſite to the ſubſiſtence of multitudes*; but can this agriculture, confined to the produce of mere neceſſaries, and not encouraged either by exportation, by the good prices of commodities, or even by the facility with which returns are made, at any time become flouriſhing?

(*b*) The reader will pleaſe to obſerve what hath been already remarked concerning the Romans.

riſhing? and if in particular ſituations, agriculture be only in a ſtate of extreme fertility, muſt we not attribute this circumſtance to the happy diſpoſition of the ſoil, and climate? true agriculture doth not conſiſt in throwing ſeeds into grounds, which will bear crops, without art, but in conquering nature whereſoever ſhe rebels, in varying, and in multiplying her productions. Now, this is a knowledge which the ancients, and particularly the Greeks do not appear to have acquired. Columella obſerves that, according to Xenophon, every man may be a good farmer; and that great labour, and much ſkill are not neceſſary. On which, I ſhall remark in my turn, that if luxury and commerce did not eſtabliſh a ſale, and exchange of commodities, agriculture in general muſt unavoidably fall to decay, as being never carried beyond the production of the ſimple neceſſaries of life. In fact, all the lands fit only to bear hemp, flax, mulberry-trees, the woods for dyeing, ſaffron, coffee, indigo, &c. muſt remain deſerted and barren. It is nevertheleſs requiſite that the individuals who cultivate theſe kinds of productions, ſhould receive their ſubſiſtance from the individuals

who cultivate the corn-lands. The only mean therefore of prevailing on them to accept commodities, muſt be to ſtimulate them to greater exertions of induſtry, to the introduction of a richer ſyſtem of agriculture, which may ſupply the coloniſt with an overplus of ſubſiſtance, and enable him to negotiate an exchange of wares.

Mr. Hume, not ſatisfied with having collected together all the authorities, and all the conjectures, from which any preſumptive proofs could have been drawn, proceeds to the examination of facts, that is, to the examination of thoſe paſſages which afford us the cleareſt idea of the ſtate of population amongſt the ancients: and it is here, that it becomes impoſſible to follow him, without tranſlating what he hath written. It will be ſufficient to obſerve with him, *that all kinds of numbers are uncertain in ancient manuſcripts, and have been ſubject to much greater corruptions, than any other part of the text*; that the authors from whom we obtain the moſt favorable notions of the population of the ancients, (and ſuch authors, for inſtance, are Herodotus, and Diodorus Siculus) have tranſmitted to us contradictory calculations, and ridiculous con-

concluſions; that on the other hand, the hiſtorians who are entitled to the greateſt confidence, and whoſe inferences ſeem the moſt rational, leave us no room to imagine that the earth was, formerly, more peopled, than it is at preſent; that, in truth, tradition always preſents us with ſome examples of an extenſive population; but the capital point to be enquired into, is, whether theſe examples were ſimultaneous; for *it is an uſual fallacy, to conſider all the ages of antiquity, as one period, and to compute the numbers contained in the great cities, mentioned by ancient authors, as if theſe cities had been all contemporary.* It is abſolutely requiſite to compare the different epochs, and not to regard, as an advantage common to every æra of antiquity, that which was but a ſucceſſive removal of welfare, and proſperity.

Such, in ſome meaſure, is the ſubſtance of the diſſertation, written by Mr. Hume. It was not without regret, that we felt ourſelves obliged to ſtrip it of that comprehenſive learning, and thoſe ingenious reflections, with which it is ſo elegantly enriched. It is probable that the reader may have been entertained with this ſlight idea which we have given

given him of the work, and he may eaſily conſult it, if our obſervations have been ſo fortunate as to inſpire him with any taſte for ſuch intereſting ſubjects.

To proceed to Mr. Wallace. At the beginning of his performance, we meet with ſome very fine calculations on the poſſible propagation of mankind, *attempted from a ſingle pair*, and we have the ſatisfaction to obſerve, that at the cloſe of 1,233 *years, the ſum of all alive* amounts to 412,316,860,416. Now, as *there were at leaſt three couples for multiplying, the three ſons of Noah, and their wives, inſtead of one couple*, our author eaſily explains how *the earth might have been well peopled in times which we account very ancient:* and I think as he thinks; for I do not perceive even a compariſon between the number of Egyptians, Aſſyrians, Babylonians, &c. and the number of lice, bugs, caterpillars, and other inſects, or reptiles, iſſuing from the ſame ark.

After having ſhewn this firſt pattern of his philoſophy, Mr. Wallace paſſes on to an enquiry into the cauſes, which may either aſſiſt, or retard the progreſs of population; and here, he is led to advance, that *trade and commerce*,

commerce, the arts, and manufactures, *inſtead of increaſing*, *may often tend to diminiſh the number of mankind*; that they who work at different trades, are obliged to live at the expence of the huſbandmen, who, by cultivating the ground for the artiſans, cultivate it alſo for themſelves: but were theſe artiſans to become cultivators, they would raiſe productions for themſelves, and for others; and this to take place continually, ſo that we ſhould have an immenſe ſeries of the producers of ſuperfluities. There cannot, undoubtedly, be a more juſt deduction of conſequences. It is a pity that facts are directly oppoſed to them. We abſolutely perceive, that they who are either unable to negotiate any exchange of wares, or to procure a ſuitable price for their commodities, do not cultivate even enough for their own ſubſiſtance. It is on this account, that ſo many nations have lived miſerably, though in poſſeſſion of an immenſe domain, and that the earth hath been covered with fiſhers, hunters, and Nomades.

Mr. Wallace, ſatisfied with theſe preliminary conſiderations, ſoon throws himſelf into an examination of thoſe authorities, which bear

bear the ſtrongeſt teſtimony, in favour of the populouſneſs of antient times. We ſhall, alſo, diſpenſe with following him through this detail, though with much leſs regret, than we have juſt now felt, as we are far from finding in his diſſertation, that precaution, and criticiſm, ſo conſpicuous in the Eſſay, written by Mr. Hume. To give the reader an idea of the manner, in which Mr. Wallace goes on, we ſhall inform him that paſſages from ſeveral poets are collected together, in one undiſtinguiſhed heap, and blended with paſſages from Herodotus, and Diodorus Siculus, authors whoſe accuracy is more than ſuſpected. Mr. Wallace, not contented with having availed himſelf of ſuch authorities, hath even ventured to alter them, where they did not ſufficiently coincide with his opinion. Hath he read in Diodorus Siculus that Egypt only contained ſeven millions of inhabitants? he immediately corrects his author, and reaſons thus: *Herodotus obſerves(c) that* 410,000 *ſoldiers, all native Egyptians, were ſometimes kept in pay. If we compare the Egyptians with the French, who are*

(c) Herod. lib. 2. p. 175.

are a more warlike people, and compute the people of France at ſixteen, or twenty millions, and the army which the king maintains conſtantly at 200,000, *according to this proportion, Egypt muſt have contained* 32, *or* 40 *millions.* An Egyptian might as reaſonably have ſaid, "my country contained only ſeven millions "of inhabitants, at the time when the lake "*Meris* was digged: now, France contains "more than twenty millions of inhabitants, "and therefore the French ought to have "digged a lake three times larger than our "lake." If, unfortunately, Cæſar hath obſerved that when the Gauls raiſed a great armament, the levies made in Belgium did not amount to more than two hundred, and ninety-eight thouſand men, our author, who feels the force of the objection, eaſily draws himſelf out of this ſcrape. Firſt, (ſaith he) *we cannot ſuppoſe that this was a levy of all the fighting men in Belgium; for Cæſar's information was, that the Bellovaci could have brought* 100,000 *to the field, though they engaged only for* 60,000. *Taking the whole therefore in this proportion of ten to ſix, the ſum of fighting men in all the ſtates of Belgium was* 496,666; *and quadrupling this laſt number,*

Belgium

Belgium muſt have had 1,986,664 *inhabitants, whom we may ſuppoſe to be free, or not employed in ſervile offices.(d)* Secondly, it may alſo be obſerved, in the *commentaries* of Cæſar, that amongſt the Gauls, there were two orders of men; the firſt order was compoſed of free citizens, whom he calls *knights*, and the laſt order of a kind of bondmen, amongſt whom were many ruined citizens, who had thrown themſelves into a ſtate of ſervitude under the nobles. Cæſar adds, that *when any war ariſes*, all theſe *knights* take arms: *omnes in bello verſantur.* Mr. Wallace applies this authority, which is poſitive for the *knights*, in the negative, againſt the people; that is to ſay, he excludes them from all military employments, and then argues thus: *the ſum of fighting men* (nobles, or knights) *in all the ſtates of Belgium was* 496,666, *and quadrupling this laſt number, Belgium muſt have had* 1,986,664 individuals of this order. *And*

(*d*) Mr. Wallace adds in a note that, *in ſome copies of Cæſar's commentaries, the Aduatuci ſend* 29,000, *inſtead of* 19,000, *as it is ſtated in my preceding calculation; at which rate the fighting men in all Belgium, would have been* 513,333: *ſo we may reckon them about half a million.* K.

And if we make the lower order of perſons (plebes) *to have been thrice as numerous as the reſt, we muſt reckon the inhabitants of Belgium about* 8,000,0000. *Now Belgium does not appear to have been larger than the fourth part of Gaul, and if Gaul was four times greater than Belgium, we may compute* 32,000,000 *of inhabitants in Gaul.*

Without this excellent ſagacity, our author would always meet with troubleſome paſſages, in the *commentaries* of Cæſar, *according to whom, in the liſts which he found in the Helvetian camp, the number of the Helvetians who had abandoned their country, in order to conquer, and take poſſeſſion of ſome larger territory, was ſtated at* 263,000.(*e*) Mr. Wallace replies, without heſitation, *that Cæſar's intelligence might have been not perfectly exact; that therefore it was only a powerful colony which had entered into this reſolution; that multitudes would chuſe to remain in their own country; in particular, that the Druids would not be haſty to ſet out on ſuch an adventure, but would rather wait its iſſue.* I confeſs that we may learn from the characters of all the Druids,

(*e*) De bell. Gal. lib. 1. c. 29.

Druids, in every age, how averſe they were from expoſing their perſons, and how tamely they ſuffered others to fight in their place; but this allegation, advanced by Mr. Wallace, ſeems rather moral, than critical.

Here, follows another ſpecimen of the calculations of Mr. Wallace. *The forces which Polybius aſſigns to the Romans, and their allies, between the firſt, and ſecond Punic wars, amounting to more than* 700,000 *foot, and* 70,000 *horſe,*(*f*) *ſhew the great populouſneſs of Italy, in that age.* It is obſerved by Mr. Hume, who hath omitted nothing which was the moſt contrary to his opinion, that *the country that ſupplied this number, was not above a third of Italy, viz. the Pope's dominions, Tuſcany, and a part of the kingdom of Naples.* His adverſary, Mr. Wallace, avails himſelf of this paſſage, and adds that, *we muſt compute the inhabitants of Italy, who were of free condition, at* 12,000,000; *and reckoning thrice as many ſlaves, the inhabitants of all ſorts will be found to be no fewer than* 48,000,000: *or, if the proportion of three ſlaves to one free perſon, ſhall be thought too high, by ſuppoſing them only*

(*f*) Polyb. lib. 2.

only two to one, the inhabitants of Italy were thirty-ſix millions. . . . . . Thus, by reckoning that there were 12 millions of freemen, divided into three millions of families, each family conſiſting of only four perſons; Mr. Wallace allows, by the firſt calculation, twelve ſlaves, and by the ſecond calculation, eight ſlaves to each family; thus, all thoſe poor citizens who were not worth twenty *minæ*, and who, on account of their indigence, were excuſed from wearing a coat of mail, had, each of them, at leaſt five or ſix ſlaves. This is certainly very aſtoniſhing. I think that I ſhould be apt to reaſon, in a different manner. The country which ſupplied the number of ſeven hundred, and ſeventy thouſand individuals, was not above a third of Italy; but it was the moſt populous part of Italy; for the Alps, and the Apennines were, and are ſtill in a very ſavage ſtate.(*g*) Beſides, Rome was flouriſhing; ſhe

(*g*) Livy relates that in the year 555, from the foundation of Rome, the Conſul Cornelius, having attacked the Inſubri, made the number of the cities taken amount to fifteen, and the number of their inhabitants to twenty thouſand. V. l. 2. d. 4. This calculation allows but 1,333 inhabitants to each of theſe cities.

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had already ſtripped ſeveral nations, and was the capital of Italy. I am therefore juſtified in believing that the population of the two remaining third parts of Italy was ſcarcely equal to the number of the Romans, and their allies. Now, ſuppoſing that theſe ſeven hundred, and ſeventy thouſand warriors repreſent three millions, and eighty thouſand free citizens, I ſhould think it ſufficient to double this number, to find the total of the free inhabitants of Italy, which, in this caſe, would amount to ſix millions, one hundred, and ſixty thouſand individuals. Let me next calculate the number of ſlaves; and as there is no reaſon to imagine that theſe belonged to any individuals, who were not ſufficiently rich to be compriſed within the equeſtrian *cenſus*, I ſhall allow two ſlaves to each *knight*, and rate the total number of ſlaves, at one hundred, and forty thouſand.*(h)* I ſhall again

I the rather mention this paſſage, as it ſeems equally to have eſcaped Mr. Wallace, and Mr. Hume.

(h) They who have any knowledge of the Roman militia, will find even this calculation too favorable. For we are only obliged to admit the *Cenſus equeſtris*, in the caſe of the real Roman knights, who formed the cavalry of the legions. All the reſt of the cavalry was com-

again double this number, for the Patrician families; and the whole amount will be two hundred, and eighty thouſand ſlaves. I think that I may venture to aſſert, that the remaining part of Italy, much poorer in proportion, and by no means ſo ſucceſsful in war, did not poſſeſs half ſo many ſlaves: I will however fix them at two hundred and twenty

compoſed of allies, and called *alæ ſociorum*. Now, it doth not any where appear that this auxiliary cavalry ſubmitted to the ſame laws, which regulated the Roman cavalry. It is, therefore, very indulgent to include within the *Cenſus equeſtris*, the ſeventy thouſand horſemen, mentioned by Polybius. V. *Juſtus Lipſius de militia Romana*; and *Memoires ſur la legion*, &c. by Mr. Le Beau.

I muſt again remark that great miſtakes may have been made, in calculating the number of ſlaves amongſt the ancients. Mr. Hume, and Mr. Wallace have cited a paſſage from Florus, who informs us that Eunus, and Athenio, by breaking open the *ergaſtula*, and giving liberty to the ſlaves, raiſed an army of ſixty thouſand men. It is not evident, that in any of the ſervile wars, the armies were as numerous as they muſt have proved, if the multitudes of theſe unhappy wretches had been as great as ſome writers have repreſented them. It muſt alſo be obſerved, that at the beginning of the Punic war, the Romans, poſſeſſing more moderate, and equal eſtates, ſtill attended to agriculture, without entruſting the buſineſs of it to ſlaves. It was not until after the triumphs of Metellus, and Emilius, that riches were in-

thouſand; and thus, the total number of ſlaves is five hundred thouſand; the addition of ſix millions, one hundred, and ſixty thouſand citizens, forms a population of ſix millions, ſix hundred, and ſixty thouſand inhabitants; a number extremely inferior to the number exiſting in Italy, in our times, in ſpite of the great multitude of prieſts, and monks, with which that country is infeſted.

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introduced into this capital. In ſhort, I muſt perſiſt in believing that my calculation is extremely reaſonable, when I ſuppoſe that at the beginning of the ſecond Punic war, there were only five hundred thouſand ſlaves in Italy. Another proof that the calculation of Mr. Wallace is much exaggerated, appears from his allowing himſelf, *that Cato the Cenſor would never give above* 1500 drachmæ, *or about* 48*l. for a ſlave.* Now, there is every reaſon to believe, that in the time of Cato, the price of ſlaves was rather diminiſhed, than augmented, conſidering what numbers had been made captives. But let us ſuppoſe that the price was augmented, and rate the purchaſe of a ſlave before the breaking out of the ſecond Punic war, at an hundred piſtoles, or forty-one pounds, thirteen ſhillings, and four-pence, at eight ſhillings and four-pence ſterling *per* piſtole; thus, then, thirty-ſix millions of ſlaves would form a capital of thirty-ſix hundred millions of piſtoles, or 1500,000,000 pounds ſterling. We learn alſo from Cato the Cenſor, that only thirteen ſlaves were neceſſary to cultivate two hundred and forty *jugera*, or above one

It is ſurely needleſs to follow Mr. Wallace any longer, eſpecially in his refutations of Mr. Hume, where he doth not appear to have been more ſucceſsful, than in his aſſertions. Yet, after having given ſome examples of the philoſophy which he hath infuſed into his work, and of his method in the application of facts, and authorities, we muſt invite the reader to procure his *diſſertation*; and we can aſſure him that he will find in it, an excellent choice of erudition, every where unfolded with elegance, and perſpicuity.*(i)* In my opinion, as wars are become

one hundred and thirty acres, which are more than ten acres to each ſlave. Now, Mr. Wallace affirms that Italy contains forty-eight millions of acres. According to this calculation, ſuppoſing that no Roman, or free Italian, laboured in the cultivation of the ground, about four millions of ſlaves were ſufficient for that purpoſe. But, how were the reſt to be employed in a country, without manufactures, and without commerce? before I conclude this long note, it may be proper to remark, that the affluence of the Roman knights, in the time of Cicero, is no argument againſt my ſuppoſition that their fortunes were very moderate at the beginning of the ſecond Punic war. Their affluence can only be attributed to their farming the revenues, in the different provinces.

(i) When the errors of a work are outweighed by excellencies, the liberal critic, whilſt he expoſes the firſt,

become leſs frequent; as commerce, induſtry, and agriculture are extended, and improved, the world is, in general, more populous, than it was formerly; and if we except ſome privileged places, which are ſtill delightful to mankind, in ſpite of the op-

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firſt, will pay a tribute of admiration to the laſt. The character which, as he takes his leave, the *chevalier* beſtows upon the *diſſertation*, is juſt, and candid. It were fortunate indeed, if every celebrated writer could boaſt, with Mr. Wallace, that the effuſions of his genius had aimed at ſerviceable ends; and that, howſoever they might have failed, at leaſt, they did no miſchief. As we learn, in the *appendix* to the *Diſſertation on the numbers of mankind*, that this performance preceded* the *Eſſay on the populouſneſs of antient nations*, written by Mr. Hume, we cannot but lament that the laſt author permitted any arguments advanced by his adverſary, to remain unanſwered. Had he choſen to follow Mr. Wallace into the Holy-Land, we ſhould, probably, have been enlightened by a refutation of the remarks on the numbers in Paleſtine, and the enrollments of the *tribes* of Iſrael; but, on ſuch an expedition, our elegant philoſopher muſt have travelled (to borrow his expreſſive language) beyond "*the ſphere of real hiſtory.*" .... I cannot conclude this note, without mentioning two productions which have fallen from the pen of Mr. Wallace, the laſt of which, in particular, bears an honourable teſtimony to the extent of his abilities, and the integrity of his principles. His "*ſyſtem of the laws of*

* *This circumſtance is not mentioned in the French tranſlation.*

oppreſſions under which they languiſh, the modern nations, enjoying an eſtabliſhed form of government, are not leſs numerous than the ancient nations. In ſupport of this aſſertion, I might advance one proof which even Mr. Hume hath neglected;*(k)* it is the

 ſenſible

of Scotland" is a work of deep thought, and indefatigable labour; it muſt have fixed his reputation, although only the digreſſive parts of it had been attended to, and amongſt theſe parts, his charitable remarks on the ſervitude of our negroes. The other production is entitled "*Characteriſtics of the political ſtate of Great-Britain.* The late author of "*the Eſtimate of the manners and principles of the times*," told us, ſome years ſince, (and indeed the patriotic writers tell us ſo every year) that the nation was undone, *that it ſtood aghaſt at its own misfortunes*; *but like a man ſtarting ſuddenly from ſleep, by the noiſe of ſome approaching ruin, knew neither whence it came, nor how to avoid it.* In anſwer to the *eſtimate*, and *to prevent a baleful deſpondency*, the *Characteriſtics* were immediately drawn up. The favorable reception which they met with, was like the thanks offered by the Romans, at a more alarming period, to their conſul, *quod de republicâ non deſperaſſet.* If we look back on the national events, which terminated the career of the laſt reign, and threw ſuch luſtre over the beginning of the preſent reign, we may at once diſcover, in which of the mirrors preſented to them, by Doctor Brown, and Mr. Wallace, the people of England ſaw their own likeneſs. K.

(k) Although Mr. Hume hath not mentioned the decreaſe of wild beaſts, yet he alludes to their numbers,

as

ſenſible decreaſe of wild beaſts, and all noxious animals. It is probable that a Turkiſh emperor could not collect together, in leſs than ten years, ſuch a multitude of lions, tygers, and panthers, as the Roman emperors, the Conſuls, and even the Ædiles exhibited at thoſe extraordinary hunting matches, which were given for the entertainment of the people. With regard to the population of ſome particular nations, I muſt aſſent to the words of Mr. Hume: *chuſe Dover or Calais for a center: draw a circle of two hundred miles radius: you comprehend London, Paris, the Netherlands, the United Provinces, and ſome of the beſt cultivated parts of France, and England. It may ſafely, I think, be affirmed, that no ſpot of ground can be found, in antiquity, of equal extent, which contained near ſo many great, and populous cities, and was ſo ſtocked with riches, and inhabitants.*

CHAP.

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as to an argument againſt the populouſneſs of ancient nations. After having obſerved that, *we are told by Thucydides, that the part of Peloponneſus, adjoining to Pylos, was deſart, and uncultivated*; he adds, from Herodotus, that *Macedonia was full of lions and wild bulls*; *animals which can only inhabit vaſt unpeopled foreſts. Theſe were the two extremities of Greece.* K.

CHAP. VI.

Continuation of the ſame ſubject; and, in particular, an enquiry into the progreſs of population, amongſt the modern nations.

NOW, that the reader is enabled to determine the preceding queſtion, another queſtion ariſes, which is ſtill more important; and, perhaps, it cannot be ſo eaſily reſolved. Hath population increaſed, or diminiſhed, during the courſe of ſome of the laſt centuries? is the populouſneſs of the preſent times, in particular, in a ſtate of augmentation, or decay? theſe queſtions which, for a long while paſt, ought to have been ſettled by a proper enumeration, have ſeldom met

met with any deciſions, but the wild deciſions of caprice, and flattery. In fact, juſt as men were inclined either to praiſe, or to cenſure the government, to abrogate ancient laws, or to cry up new laws; they have ſaid: *the evident decreaſe in the population, the ſtriking increaſe in the population muſt convince us that*, &c. And as ſatire, and panegyric are ſeldom the one more impartial than the other, ſtrong exaggerations were equally to be obſerved, on both ſides.

Mr. de Voltaire as ſuperior to all prejudices, as he is to all criticiſms, determines in favour of our age, in that immortal work,(*l*) which he hath written for the inſtruction, and the conſolation of humanity. This philoſophical hiſtorian hath not endeavoured to conceal the detriment, which population muſt have felt from our ſuperſtitious legiſlations, the government of prieſts, their intolerant ſpirit, their multitudes, and their profeſſion of celibacy. But he ſuppoſes that theſe inconveniencies have been compenſated by an augmentation of commerce, and induſtry; and he obſerves that one ſingle difference

(*l*) Eſſai ſur l'hiſtoire générale.

ference in the exercise of the rights of war hath been sufficient to incline the ballance in favour of the populousness of the moderns: and the reason of this difference is, that the moderns have never, in the course of their numerous wars, transported the conquered nations. "Civil wars (he remarks) for a long "time desolated Germany, England, and "France; but these losses were soon repaired, "and the flourishing situation of these coun- "tries is a proof that the industry of man- "kind hath been carried to greater lengths "than their fury. A nation possessing a "knowledge of the arts, not absolutely sub- "dued, nor transported by a foreign power, "arises out of its ruins with ease, and can "always re-establish itself."

I should imagine that no one can doubt whether the populousness of England hath increased, considerably, since the reign of Elizabeth. The populousness of Ireland, diminished for some time, by civil, and religious wars, is, at present, in a state of improvement. The long peace which Italy hath enjoyed, for a great while past, and the wise administration of her new sovereigns cannot fail to re-people this fine country, which,

which, however, will not reach its real point of ſplendour, until all the ſtates of which it is compoſed, ſhall have imitated the prudent conduct of the republic of Venice, with regard to the Holy See, the Monks, and the Eccleſiaſtics. As to Germany, the women ſtill retain their ancient fruitfulneſs; and as it is evident, that the proteſtant diſtricts are more rich, and populous, than the other diſtricts of this empire, we may aſſert, from experience, that the reformed religion hath been advantageous to population. The United Provinces have, at leaſt, gained in the number of their inhabitants, what the ten Auſtrian provinces may have loſt. The people of Denmark, delivered from the tyranny of the Great, and, hitherto, happy under the dominion of thoſe maſters, whom they elected, have ſeen their commerce, and their navigation flouriſh within the boſom of peace. The people of Denmark are, now, richer, and more at eaſe than they were formerly; and therefore, they multiply. This is not the caſe in Sweden, which, like a country given up during a length of time, to daſtards, hath not yet riſen ſuperior to the loſſes which it ſuffered, under the government

ment of an hero.*(m)* It was not in this kingdom, that liberty appeared under the happieſt auſpices. That ſucceſſion of democracy in the diets, of ariſtocracy in the intermedial government of the ſenate, and of monarchy in the royal mediation, hath rather reciprocated, than compenſated the efforts of the Swedes; and it muſt always be regretted, that a noble, and valiant nation ſhould ſcarcely ever aſſemble, but to enact abſurd laws relative to exchange, and commerce, as if the heroes of the north, and the deliverers of Germany transformed into diſcounters, and Bankers, had taken for their models, *law*, inſtead of Guſtavus.

The populouſneſs of Ruſſia hath been exaggerated; but although the immenſe toils of Peter the Great are no longer diſcernible, except at Peterſburgh, and Cronſtadt, it may be affirmed that this vaſt empire is more peopled, at preſent, than it was in the time of its firſt *dukes*. Poland hath preſerved herſelf

(m) See an enumeration of the inhabitants of Sweden, printed in the *Gazette Litteraire*, an intereſting journal, the want of which we daily feel, as it was the only publication in which the men of letters had reaſon to imagine themſelves judged by their peers.

ſelf in a ſtate of dangerous liberty,(n) and is in the ſame ſituation, as Ruſſia, more rich, and more populous than when under Ladiſlaus the fourth, and his immediate ſucceſſors.

Spain doth not appear to have experienced any conſiderable alterations, under her new dynaſty. It is the ſame, with reſpect to Portugal. There remain, then, the French, who, as is the caſe amongſt the moſt enlightened people of all, poſſeſs the leaſt accurate knowledge of population, and of other ſubjects equally intereſting. This expreſſion, which appears ſomewhat paradoxical, may be more eaſily explained, if we reflect, that where the people are ignorant, it is the government that makes every uſeful enquiry, and is generally furniſhed with ſufficient

(n) A Polander, reproached for having brought ſuch troubles on his country, anſwered: *I prefer a dangerous liberty to quiet ſlavery.* (See "*Hiſtoire de Sobieſky,*" or, "*La voix libre du citoyen.*")

I have frequently been inclined to aſk why Poland preſerved, for ſuch a length of time, ſo bad a form of government? I have imputed it to their vicinity to the Turks, and Ruſſians. In ſhort, where deſpotiſm is ſo near at hand, no ſpecies of liberty wears an unpleaſing aſpect.

ficient means of intelligence; and that, on the contrary, where the people are enlightened, this buſineſs is commonly entruſted to the activity of particular individuals. The miniſters, not warned by too great inconveniences, and having perpetually before their eyes, a very extenſive, and complicated machine, paſs their whole political life, in ſtudying the ſprings of it, and in fearing to touch them; if, by accident, ſome facts, or calculations ſhould, at any time be wanting, they are glad to have recourſe to thoſe authors, whom they have neglected to inſtruct, or encourage; but here, it always happens, that the immenſe number of writers furniſhes arms for every opinion; diſputes are protracted; but little is determined on, and ſtill leſs is underſtood.

Such, amongſt us, hath been the fate of the great queſtion, concerning the number of our countrymen. That it was obſerved to have been ſenſibly diminiſhed, at the peace of Ryſwyck, is well known: and yet the calculations of Mr. de Vauban carried it up as high as nineteen millions, although Lorraine was not, at that time, annexed to our monarchy. The calculations of the intendants, employed by the duke

duke of Burgundy, were not quite ſo favourable.(o) Reckoning from that epoch, the war of the ſucceſſion was ſtill more deſolating, than the wars which had preceded it. The long peace which followed the treaty of Utrecht, the progreſs of commerce, and our interior tranquility ought to have recruited the nation; but depopulation was become *faſhionable*. A ſet of calculators, without alleging any reaſon, frankly told us that there were not, in France, even ſixteen millions of inhabitants. In ſhort, it happened, according to our uſual cuſtom, that ſome particular individuals, without any other commiſſion, than that with which a pure zeal for the public

(o) See *Projet d'une dixme royale*. Marſhal de Vauban, whoſe ſuperiority as an engineer, will never be conteſted, whilſt a ſtone remains within the port of Dunkerque, was the author of this work. The propoſals which it contained were, a ſuppreſſion of the land-tax, the exciſe, the duties of the cuſtoms collected throughout the provinces, the tenths of the clergy, and every burdenſome, and involuntary impoſt; and a diminution, by more than one half, of the price of ſalt. This *dixme royale*, or royal tithe, was to ſupply the king with a certain, and ſufficient revenue, collected without expence, or being more chargeable to one ſubject, than to another ſubject; and to encreaſe with the improved, and flouriſhing cultivation of the lands. K.

lic welfare had inveſted them, conceived a deſign of entering into the moſt accurate enquiries, relating to this ſubject. Some reſpectable magiſtrates have availed themſelves of the opportunities which their different adminiſtrations afforded them, in order to bring together, at leaſt, elements which might ſerve, as the baſis of ulterior calculations. Such is the laborious undertaking of Mr. de la Michaudiere, digeſted, and publiſhed by Mr. de Meſſence: it is, of all the works of this kind, the plaineſt, and the beſt conceived.*(p)*

Abbé Expilly hath profited by theſe inſtructions, and procured more;*(q)* exact enumerations have been collected; the liſts al-

(p) Mr. de Meſſence, ſecretary of the intendancy, hath compoſed, under the inſpection of Monſieur de la Michaudiere, a work entitled, "*Recherches ſur la population:*" it contains a very exact liſt of the inhabitants, in the provinces of Auvergne, the Lionnois, and Normandy, in which diſtricts, Mr. de la Michaudiere hath been, ſucceſſively, intendant. This magiſtrate is, now, counſellor of ſtate, and provoſt of the merchants at Paris. K.

(q) The following particulars are taken from a work, which Abbé Expilly lately preſented to the King of France.

From

ready taken notice of, or falling under immediate obſervation, have been thrown into one point of view; the different epochs have been compared together, &c. The reſult of theſe labours is, a diſcovery that the population of France hath increaſed, for the laſt fifty years, about a twelfth part, and that, at preſent, it may be reckoned to have amounted to twenty-one, or twenty-two millions of inhabitants.(r)

It

From 1691, to 1700 incluſively, there were in the 35,127 pariſhes contained in France, 7,679,083 births. 1,807,891 marriages. 6,784,724 deaths.

From 1754, to 1763, incluſively, and in the ſame number of pariſhes, 8,522,110 births. 1,890,472 marriages. 6,564,694 deaths.

From 1754, to 1763, in the 42,105 pariſhes of France, including the pariſhes of Lorraine, and Barre, 8,661,381 births. 1,922,163 marriages. 6,664,161 deaths. K.

(r) Mr. de Vauban reckoned that France contained ſcarcely more than 627 perſons, to a ſquare league of 2282 *toiſes.** He, notwithſtanding aſſerts that it appeared from very exact calculations, that there were in the provinces of Picardy, of Britanny, of the Artois, and of Normandy, more than 700 perſons to ſuch a ſquare league. Now, Mr. de la Michaudiere reckons, in the *Généralité* of Rouen, 1.58 perſons to a ſquare league

* *The French* toiſe *is ſix feet, and the French foot is almoſt three quarters of an inch longer than the Engliſh foot.*

It were greatly to be wiſhed that the government would give orders for a general enumeration, every where grounded on the ſame principles. This, undoubtedly, will, one day, happen; probably, at the introduction of a new ſurvey of lands, the eſtabliſhment of a proportional taxation, and the emancipation of commerce from all interior duties. In the mean time, whilſt theſe little objects may be under conſideration, we can affirm, with pleaſure, that if the number of *men* be encreaſed, the number of *monks* is diminiſhed.

league of 2400 toiſes; in the *Généralité* of Lyons 866 perſons; and in the *Généralité* of Auvergne 640 perſons. At a medium, we may allow 864 perſons to the ſquare league, in theſe *Généralités*, and this medium may the rather be adopted in calculating for the whole kingdom, as, if the *Généralité* of Rouen be the moſt populous, the *Généralité* of Auvergne is, on the contrary, the leaſt populous. Now, according to Mr. de Vauban, if France, without compriſing Lorraine, contained 800 inhabitants to a ſquare league, the full number of inhabitants muſt have been 24 millions. Perhaps the ſurvey of Mr. de Vauban is not quite exact; perhaps, the Angoumois, and the Limoſin are not ſo populous as the *Généralité* of Auvergne; but, in ſhort, we have here a calculation, which aſſigns to France a very large population. The calculations of the farmers-general fix the number of perſons, concerned in the farming

It is evident, from very exact calculations, that 5538 of the religious order of both ſexes died at Paris, from 1726 to 1744 incluſively; and that from 1744 to 1763 incluſively, there died only 3292: now, as the monks of the laſt thirty years have not (at leaſt, in a phyſical ſenſe) rendered themſelves immortal, it appears that their number hath decreaſed, at Paris, more than one third. The caſe is the ſame with regard to the other diſtricts of the kingdom. Some very able men, to whom the government hath intruſted that department of adminiſtration, which relates to the polity of religious orders, have frequently aſſured me, that

farming of tobacco, at 18 millions. A very reſpectable magiſtrate,† whoſe loſs muſt ſtill have been ſeverely felt, if he himſelf had not formed a ſucceſſor, every way worthy of him, hath frequently aſſured me, that all the calculations, which he had an opportunity of examining, and comparing, convinced him that there really was a great depopulation in France, until 1714; but that after this epoch, the population became conſiderably increaſed. See *Dixme Royale*; *Recherches*, &c. by Mr. de Meſſence; *Dictionnaire geographique*, by Abbé Expilly.

† *Mr. de Trudaine, whoſe ſon, and ſucceſſor in his poſts, is counſellor of ſtate, counſellor to the council of commerce, and royal council of Finances, intendant of the Finances, &c. Mr. de Trudaine, the father, died in* 1765. K.

that they found no more than 28 thouſand mendicant friars, including the Carmelites, the Jacobines, &c. and that they did not imagine that the others exceeded the number of twelve thouſand. In 1700, there were ninety thouſand religious perſons of both ſexes. Suppoſing the number of religious perſons to be equal to the number of monks, there would be a diminution of a ninth part. Indeed, this diminution doth not bear any proportion to the diminution which we have obſerved in the city of Paris, but the revolutions of opinions, and manners, take their riſe, always, in the capitals. Beſides, the expulſion of the Jeſuits, and the ordinance which throws up ſuch impediments againſt the taking of vows, and againſt the re-union of thoſe little communities, which are but too often ſanctuaries for idleneſs, and diſorder, cannot fail to reduce the number of theſe men, who are at leaſt unſerviceable to their country.

But, a circumſtance the moſt intereſting to the progreſs of population, is the law of of 1764, which permits the exportation of corn; this ſalutary edict hath already revived the ſpirits of the provinces, and occaſioned a

briſk return of money, amongſt the cultivators. It every where encourages the production of ſubſiſtance; and ſubſiſtance is always the ſtandard of population: for, if we have obſerved with Mr. Hume, that population is conſtantly in a ſtate of reſtraint, we can only attribute this perpetual impediment to a want of ſubſiſtance.(s) Let us hope for every advantage from ſo ſound a policy, and allow that if it hath been attended by ſome inconveniencies, they ought rather to be aſcribed to a neglect in the execution of the law, than to the law itſelf. Beſides, is it not well known, that there can be no important alteration, without ſome moments

(s) We may obſerve, from the calculations publiſhed by Mr. de Meſſence, that, after the deſolation cauſed by the plague at Marſeilles, marriages were more fruitful in Provence, than they had been, previous to that event. The caſe is the ſame, after the ceſſation of thoſe calamities which diminiſh the proportion of men, to ſubſiſtance, without deſtroying the means of re-producing that ſubſiſtance. From this ſingle conſideration, we may, at once, conclude that the depopulation, which is the conſequence of a contagion, may, of all others, be the moſt eaſily repaired. But a depopulation will be attended by contrary effects, whenſoever it proceeds from a ruinous war, or a bad adminiſtration.

moments of criſis? ſince, therefore, there is every reaſon to ſuppoſe that the population is augmented, and that it will ſtill augment, the only remaining enquiry is, whether a great population be preciſely the object to which every good government ought to tend; and whether ſuch a population may, always, be conſidered as a certain proof of the proſperity of a nation.(t)

(t) The candour, by which I profeſs myſelf to be guided, will not allow me to neglect the mention of a very ſingular circumſtance, as it is recorded in the hiſtory of France, continued by Villaret. This author affirms, that he ſaw, in the library of the king, a manuſcript, in which was a quotation from another manuſcript, under the title of *Etat du ſubſide impoſé par feux en* 1328. According to this *ſtate*, the provinces ſubject to the tax of hearth-money, in the time of Philip de Valois, contained two million, five hundred thouſand hearths, which imply a population ſo much the more conſiderable, as the greater part of Guienne, the counties of Foix, and of Armagnac, Rouſſillon, Burgundy, Franche Comté, Flanders, Hainault, the Artois, Britanny, Alſace, Dauphiny, and Provence were not included. Mr. de Villaret ſuppoſes that the provinces, liable to the payment of this duty, did not form a third of the kingdom, ſuch as it is at preſent, which ought conſequently to have contained at that time nearly eight millions of hearths: this would give us twenty-four millions of inhabitants, reckoning only three

CHAP. VII.

Continuation of the ſame ſubject. Is populouſneſs a ſure ſign of the ſtrength of a ſtate?

I Have no doubt but that many perſons would determine this queſtion in the affirmative; and ſuch an opinion naturally appears to be derived from a principle, which we have hitherto

three perſons to each hearth; and to theſe, we muſt likewiſe add all the ſerfs, the clergy, the univerſities, and the nobility, who were exempted from the tax. Hence it follows, that we may fix this population at the number of thirty-two millions. Such an inference is rather too extraordinary not to raiſe a ſuſpicion of the authenticity of the memorials, from which it is drawn. It is impoſſible that the augmentation in the number of the clergy, the cruſades, the feodal anarchy, the ſervitude of the people, &c. could have avoided proving a great obſtacle to the progreſs of population; and this conſideration muſt immediately occaſion a prejudice againſt the foregoing calculations. I muſt beg leave to obſerve

hitherto eſtabliſhed. But, as it hath been ingeniouſly obſerved by one of our contemporaries, whoſe abilities, eſtimated by ability itſelf,

obſerve that, perhaps, Mr. Villaret hath, entirely of his own accord, ſuppoſed that the provinces ſubject to the tax of hearth-money formed only the third of the population. He remarks, in another place, that when the Black Prince would have levied this tax of 20 ſols, for each hearth, (in conſequence of which the majority of his ſubjects revolted) it was calculated that it would produce 1,200,000 livres, or 52,500*l.* ſterling. It is very clear that this conjecture was made at a venture, as it ſuppoſes that the population of the provinces ſubject to England, was equal to one half of the population of the provinces, which compoſed the monarchy. Let us, however, for a moment, admit the fact; yet without neglecting another fact, which may be found in Ducange. *(in verb. focagium.)* This learned author mentions an inſtrument, inſerted in the hiſtory of Britanny, in which notice is taken of a tax of hearth-money, aſſigned over by the duke, to the conſtable Cliſſon, for the payment of a debt which he claimed. According to this inſtrument, the number of hearths, in all the province, amounted only to 69,748. *Erat autem exhibitus numerus focorum tum contribuentium in communis focagiis qui aſcendebant ad ſummam* 69,748. Now, if Britanny contained only ſuch a number of hearths, might we not divide thoſe provinces, which remained out of the royal juriſdiction, into four lots, each of which lots would be nearly equal to Britanny. The firſt lot would contain Burgundy, and the Franche Comté; the ſecond lot would contain Flanders, Hainault,

itſelf, have been happily thrown into action: *we are only well acquainted with truths when we*

nault, and the Artois; the third lot would contain Alſace, and Lorraine; the fourth lot would contain Dauphiny, and Provence: within all theſe together, including Britanny, there would only be about 350,000 hearths. If to this number, we add the number calculated for Guyenne, there will be but 155,000 hearths for all thoſe provinces of our monarchy, which were not, at that time, ſubject to the authority of our kings. I do not, indeed, pretend to give this, as an exact computation; yet it appears to be at leaſt as exact as the computation of Mr. Villaret. This author only reckons three perſons to each hearth, which is wandering very widely from the real eſtimate. There is great room to imagine, that with regard to this tax, the mode of aſſeſſment was different from what it is at preſent. I find, alſo, in Ducange, a paſſage which he hath taken from the regiſters of the chamber of accounts. Where mention is made of the manner in which the tax of hearth-money ought to be collected in Normandy, the words are: *ſi in eadem domo manſerint quatuor homines, vel plures, vel pauciores, de quibus unuſquiſque vivat de ſuo proprio, dat focagium: vidua etiam, ſi habet de mobili 11 ſol. aut amplius, dat focagium*: as to the number of exempted perſons, which, in the computation of Mr. Villaret, runs up ſo high, the ſame manuſcript informs us, that a biſhop, or an *abbé*, could only exempt ſix of their train.

The reſult of all this is, that no concluſions can be drawn from principles ſo uncertain, and ſo contradictory. Mr. de Villaret may be ſurpriſed that we have only carried

we can aſcertain their limits.(u) It is in general true, that populouſneſs is a proof of the proſperity, and power of a nation, becauſe it is in general true, that agriculture, commerce, and a wiſe legiſlation multiply the number of mankind; and *vicê verſâ*. But is not population ſometimes connected with phyſical cauſes, which may prevail over moral

carried the population of all the provinces, of which we have made an enumeration, as high as a third of that population, which he aſcribes to Guyenne, and to the other countries, ſubject to England: we, in our turn, are equally ſurpriſed that he ſhould eſtimate that population, at the half of the population of thoſe provinces, which were under an immediate obedience to the king. Beſides, he produces no regiſter for Guyenne, and we have produced a very accurate regiſter for Britanny. The reſult of his calculation is, that the kingdom, ſuch as it is at preſent, might, at that period, have contained 32 millions of inhabitants; the reſult of our calculation is, that the kingdom contained only thirteen, or fourteen millions of inhabitants; for four millions of hearths would only give us twelve millions of contributors; and we muſt preſume that we are juſtified, in ſuppoſing that the number of exempted perſons was, by no means, ſo conſiderable as Mr. Villaret hath imagined. Amidſt theſe obſcurities, reaſon muſt determine; reaſon muſt teach us, that a people delivered up to anarchy, and ſuperſtition, can never multiply beyond a certain point.

(u) See "*Memoire ſur le commerce des colonies à ſucre.*"

ral cauſes? Do not countries exiſt, which are more favorable to the propagation of the human ſpecies, than other countries? and is there always an equal proportion between the number of individuals, and the felicity which they enjoy? facts are alone ſufficient to enable us to determine theſe queſtions. For, if, in proſecuting theſe enquiries, it ſhould appear difficult to find countries entirely covered with inhabitants, it would not at leaſt be ſo difficult to find countries totally deſerted. The coaſts of Africa, the Ottoman empire, and even the empire of the Czars would furniſh us with too many inſtances of this kind. But, not to ſearch after diſtant examples, we may produce ſeveral little ſtates of Germany, without commerce, and without induſtry, governed with no ſmall degree of tyranny, and perpetually oppreſſed by the preſence of a petty ſovereign, who, the moſt frequently, owes his domain only to ſome eccleſiaſtical dignity, and is impatient to devour a precarious property, which he cannot bequeath to his poſterity. Well, then! in theſe little ſtates, the people multiply; their marriages are not happy, but they are common: their huſbandry is not rich, but it is fruitful,

fruitful, and the human ſpecies conſtantly find a ſufficiency for their ſupport.

It muſt be confeſſed that ſome of the provinces in France are in a very miſerable ſituation, and appear to have been hitherto conſtantly forgotten by the government, except in the laying on of duties. Within theſe few years, Berri, and the Limoſin had neither roads, nor commerce; and yet languiſhed under the weight of impoſitions,(x) by ſo much the more burdenſome, becauſe in theſe elective countries, the taxation was arbitrary. The ſtate reaped where it had not ſown. I allow that theſe provinces are not the moſt populous provinces in the kingdom; but ſtill they are populous, and certainly, the number of inhabitants which they contain is in a proportion greatly exceeding the proportion of their conveniencies of life. It is, that we are not acquainted with all the reſources of nature.

(x) More attention than uſual hath been lately payed to the welfare of theſe provinces; and the appointment of able, and upright magiſtrates to preſide over them, is a meaſure from which they have already derived great advantages. The wiſe, and enlightened zeal, by which ſuch governors are actuated, muſt be entirely for the benefit of the people.

nature. It is, that ſhe is capable of efforts, which we cannot eſtimate; and this is the reaſon why we are always miſtaken in eſtabliſhing too general principles, or rather in the conſequences which we draw from theſe principles.

Subſiſtance is the ſtandard of population. Were the quantity of ſubſiſtance to decreaſe, *the number of individuals muſt decreaſe in the ſame proportion.* It muſt decreaſe, without doubt: in the ſame proportion? that is another affair; or, at leaſt, it can only be at the cloſe of a very long period that this proportion will be found exact. The degradations of the political ſyſtem ſomewhat reſemble the receſſion of the tides; the wave, in retiring, always flows again over its former track; to judge whether its motion be retrograde, we muſt watch it with great attention. Before that the life of men can become ſhortened, or that even the ſources of life can be impaired, calamity muſt have overthrown their powers, and multiplied their diſeaſes. When calamity may have invaded a country, when the ſubſiſtance may have been diminiſhed, in a certain quantity, a ſixth part, for inſtance, it will not happen that a ſixth part of

of the inhabitants either die of hunger, or tranſport themſelves to another ſpot; but theſe wretched individuals muſt, in general, conſume a ſixth part leſs, and thus, of courſe, unfortunately for them, deſtruction doth not always follow calamity; and nature, more an œconomiſt than tyrants are, beſt knows at how ſmall a coſt mankind may ſubſiſt. They may ſtill be numerous, but they will be weak, and miſerable, whenſoever a year of labour ſhall have but juſt ſupplied each individual with an hard ſubſiſtance for himſelf, and for his family; or whenſoever an exaction ſhall have taken away from him, daily, the trifling overplus with which he might have formed a capital, a mean of improving his arts of huſbandry, and bettering his circumſtances. It is in this inſtance, that by taking from him a little, he is deprived of a great deal. I affirm, therefore, that ſuch a country may be populous, without being either powerful, or formidable: I affirm that if a war ſhould ariſe, but few reſources can be expected from ſuch a country, and that it may be ſubdued with eaſe, by a leſs numerous people.

If, on the contrary, there ſhould exiſt a nation which, without being very numerous, poſſeſſes

poſſeſſes a great quantity of well-cultivated lands; which daily increaſes its agriculture, and its commerce, whilſt its population doth not increaſe in a ſimilar proportion; and which, in ſhort, raiſes a much greater meaſure of ſubſiſtance, without maintaining a greater number of inhabitants, I affirm that *this nation muſt conſume ſpecifically more than other nations*; and that, *here, the tariff of human life is higher than elſewhere. This, then, is the ſureſt ſign of the felicity of mankind.* In ſuch a ſituation is England.(y) Compare one ſtate with another

(y) In this place, is meant only England, properly ſo called, for there is no nation which can have reaſon to envy Scotland, or Ireland. The inhabitants of England are commonly rated at ſeven millions. As England is not much more extenſive than a third of France, it muſt be peopled, if the above calculation be exact, preciſely in the ſame proportion; but it muſt be obſerved that England enjoys ſeveral advantages not to be met with in France. Being in moſt parts rather a level country, it is, of courſe, peculiarly adapted to the culture of corn, and paſturage. Beſides, it is ſurrounded by the ſea, and the nature of its ſoil is the occaſion of its good, and eaſily-repaired roads. On the other hand, its commercial concerns are attended with particular conveniencies, on account of its poſition between Europe, and America, whilſt its inſular ſituation ſecures its tranquility. It is but juſt, therefore, to compare

another ſtate, one claſs with another claſs, one profeſſion with another profeſſion, and you will find that the ſubſiſtance of an Engliſhman is always rated at an higher aſſize, than the ſubſiſtance of a Frenchman, or a

compare England only to the richeſt provinces of France; as to Scotland, and Ireland, it will be ſufficient to oppoſe to theſe countries, the Limoſin, Auvergne, Provence, and ſome parts of Champagne. Under this point of view, England would be ſpecifically leſs populous than France, for Scotland, and Ireland together, do not contain four millions of inhabitants. But I am much inclined to believe that the Engliſh are alſo infected by the rage of depreciating their population. Their only mode of enumeration is by houſes, of which, there are ſuppoſed to be twelve hundred thouſand; and the calculators allow but five or ſix perſons to each houſe. Now, we may obſerve from the calculations of Mr. de Meſſence, that in Paris, he allows twenty-four perſons to each houſe. It is true, that there, the numbers run higher than in England. But, in London, Briſtol, Oxford, Cambridge and Birmingham, one may very well allow fifteen, or eighteen perſons to each houſe. The ſame calculations give us for the provinces five perſons to each hearth, or fire; and as there are always many more hearths than houſes, every circumſtance concurs to prove that twelve hundred thouſand houſes muſt include many more than ſeven millions of inhabitants.

Although I cannot preſume to calculate with any degree of accuracy, the number of the inhabitants of England,

German. I do not except even the poor, who, when they are in the hoſpitals, and places built for their reception and ſupport, are not refuſed any of thoſe proviſions, which we ſhould conſider as a kind of luxury, ſuch as

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England, yet, whilſt I confeſs that ſome of our writers have fixed it ſo low as ſeven millions, I muſt obſerve, that in 1753, it was rated, and that, from very moderate computations, at eight millions. In a memorial, which was put into the hands of the late Mr. Charles Townſhend, the number of houſes, cottages included, were reckoned at one million, three hundred thouſand. Now, if we allow but five inhabitants to each houſe, not either in London, or in Weſtminſter, and fifteen inhabitants to each houſe within theſe two cities, ſuppoſing the number of houſes to be only one hundred and fifty thouſand, which is certainly much below the mark, the total of the inhabitants will be eight millions. As in this calculation, only five inhabitants are allowed to each houſe in ſuch populous places as Southwark, Briſtol, Oxford, Cambridge, and Birmingham, it cannot ſurely be a wild conjecture, ſhould we fix the total amount of inhabitants at ten millions. I am greatly miſtaken, if an accurate calculation would not go far beyond that ſum. When it is conſidered how eaſily exact liſts of all the inhabitants might be annually collected, it ſeems aſtoniſhing that the government, who have, on ſome occaſions, been warmly engaged in more contemptible purſuits, ſhould not imagine that ſuch an object was deſerving of their notice. K.

as beer, tea,(z) white bread, &c. On this account, the Engliſh are more active, more robuſt, and, in particular, better workmen than the individuals of other nations: for we muſt always keep in view this truth, which is demonſtrated by experience, namely, that the high price of wages is not ſo detrimental to trade, as many perſons are apt to imagine. The reaſon is, that the man who conſumes the moſt, is the man who works the beſt. An Engliſh officer, directed to ſuperintend

(z) It is this which renders the poor rates ſo burdenſome in England.* A great inconvenience might have reſulted from it; for the proprietors of landed eſtates, fearing an augmentation of this tax, began to diſcourage population as much as they could, by removing all their little tenants, and particularly thoſe manufactures which afforded but a precarious ſubſiſtance, and which, falling to decay, ſometimes reduced the perſons employed in them to beggary. Theſe inconveniencies have been, for ſome time paſt, remedied; the majority of the proprietors having joined together, and formed eſtabliſhments, to the ſupport of which, they,

* *The author of a late performance, entitled* "Real Grievances," *affirms that the poors rate, in the year* 1764, *amounted to more than two millions, and two hundred thouſand pounds. One is almoſt inclined to doubt the fact, the ſum is ſo exorbitant. It is (as he obſerves)* conſiderably greater than what uſed to defray the expences of government towards the concluſion of the laſt century. K.

the conſtruction of ſome intrenchment, divided the work between Engliſhmen and Scotchmen. He payed the Engliſhmen, for their days labour, double the ſum which he payed the Scotchmen. Theſe laſt complaining, he put all the workmen to the trial, and they were to be paid at an equal rate, according to their reſpective earnings; but here the Scotchmen were greater loſers than before.(*a*)

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they, according to their property, contribute, and where, the poor are put to work. By theſe means, no one any longer finds an intereſt in driving them away from him; each individual ought rather to wiſh that ſuch a population might be near him, as he muſt reap an advantage from whatſoever they produced, whilſt his neighbours bear a part in the expence of maintaining them. Theſe facts, which are but little known in France, muſt be of ſervice, in proving that charitable eſtabliſhments, which are calculated for the ſupport, and multiplication of the people, may ſometimes run counter to their object; they, likewiſe, teach us that all manufactures which have no connection with agriculture, are the moſt common ſources of beggary. The truly uſeful works are ſpinning, knitting, weaving, &c. In theſe occupations, the labourer and his family may fill up the winter days, the long evenings, and all the time, during which, they are not working in the grounds.

(*a*) Mr. Pennant informs us, in his *tour*, that in the neighbourhood of Caſtle Duplin, the ſeat of the earl of

I do not allude to thoſe extravagant wages which are given in London; becauſe every city, when it becomes too conſiderable, always overſets the laws of reaſon and polity; and becauſe, in a capital, where each claſs conſtitutes a body, and where, each body may grow formidable, trade, policy, and common ſenſe are equally expoſed. But I am convinced from my own obſervation, that in the counties of England, wages are given in a juſt proportion, and individuals, in general, conſume more there, than elſewhere.(*b*)

of Kinnoul, in Perthſhire, the daily price of labour, although fixed at only eight-pence, is reckoned dear, becauſe the common people, who are not yet gotten into a method of working, do very little for their wages. One would imagine, however, that on the borders of the Dee, and at no great diſtance from Aberdeen, labour muſt be cheap, though it were even indolently, and unſkilfully attended to. The uſual pay is fifty ſhillings a year, and two pecks of oatmeal a week. K.

(*b*) The reader, by conſulting a book entitled "*a ſix weeks tour through the ſouthern counties of England and Wales*, will find that the daily wages of reapers, mowers, thraſhers, &c. are, as follows: in thoſe parts where bread is two-pence, butter ſix-pence, and meat, from three-pence to four-pence a pound; in winter ten-

By the word *conſume*, I would be underſtood to refer to the enjoyment of all the conveniencies of life. In England, the country-people, and the labourers are well clad; they are not accuſtomed to purchaſe old liveries,

ten-pence, and oftner a ſhilling; in hay time eighteen-pence; in harveſt a ſhilling, and board and beer. (See *tour*, p. 154.)

Whatſoever idea foreigners may form of the eaſy ſituation of our country labourers, it is a melancholy fact, that, whilſt the wages which they receive, are as much as any *honeſt* farmer can afford to give, they have ſcarcely wherewithal to purchaſe the common neceſſaries of life. In many parts, more than fifty miles diſtant from the capital, flour hath been ſold at the rate of eight ſhillings the buſhel. When it is conſidered how ſoon a labourer, and his family expend a buſhel of flour, how long they work before they earn it, and how abſolutely neceſſary varieties of other articles are, it is impoſſible to avoid ſhuddering at the oppreſſions under which they languiſh. To complain of ſcarcity is, at the beſt, an unfeeling mockery of the ſufferings of the moſt uſeful branch of the community. During the late ſeaſons, (and the very laſt ſeaſon in particular,) our fields (to borrow a ſtrong, but juſt expreſſion,) *have ſtood ſo thick with corn, that they have laughed, and ſung.* At how eaſy a rate, might this plenty have circulated through the families of induſtrious labourers, if the barbarity of avaricious individuals had not perverted the bleſſings of Heaven, to the worſt purpoſes. It were equally cruel, and impolitic to cenſure an order of men,

veries, as is the practice in certain countries, where, when you enter the church on a Sunday, you are apt to imagine that, instead of a congregation of country-people, you perceive a gang of shabby domestics. Coal-fires are, indeed, by no means so dear as wood-

men, who might be exceedingly beneficial to society, if their practices could admit of any palliation. A member of the house of commons, who is an honour to human nature, hath clearly proved, from the most indefatigable enquiries, that if the millers, and the mealmen give only six weeks credit, or return their money eight times in the year, they gain more than sixty-six pounds per cent. I know places where they return their money oftener than thirty times in the year. And all this, solely for want of an assize on flour, a benefit which we enjoyed, not forty years ago, but which hath, since, been artfully, and by degrees, withdrawn from us. Whensoever the people shall insist on flour, being the *whole produce* of the wheat, this assize, with all its happy consequences, can, and will be restored: but, (as hath been justly observed,) if they do not call for it, they oppose the redress of their own wrongs, and are, in some measure, the cause of what they suffer. Amongst thousands of individuals, who feel the want of necessaries, scarcely ten have any idea of the means which lead to their relief; and, therefore, in the present instance, it is the duty of every person, who may be acquainted with the enquiries, and the plan of this excellent legislator, to explain them to his poorer, and less intelligent neighbours. K.

fires; but in England, a fire is conſidered as the firſt neceſſity, and all the houſes are heated within, although they conſtantly have doors and windows, which ſhut cloſe, and are kept in good repair, in order to defend the inhabitants from the inclemencies of the weather.

Such are the real advantages enjoyed by this people; advantages which, united with the ſecurity of their properties, and that invaluable privilege, by virtue of which, they acknowledge no dependence but on the laws, muſt have rendered them the happieſt nation in the world, if their climate, their ancient manners, and their frequent revolutions had not given them a propenſity to diſcontent, and melancholy. But theſe reflections are foreign to our ſubject. We have juſt obſerved, that a people may increaſe their commerce, and their culture, in a much greater proportion than their numbers: it remains that we ſhould enquire, whether ſuch a circumſtance be a diſadvantage to them, and whether they will, on this account, become leſs powerful.

To make this queſtion ſtill plainer, let us, as at the beginning of this work, ſuppoſe the labour of a nation to be divided amongſt all the

the individuals: let us fix on two *cities*, and imagine one of them to contain ſix thouſand, and the other four thouſand inhabitants: I affirm that if the inhabitants of the firſt *city* ſhould be under the neceſſity of labouring, during the whole year, to procure for themſelves a moderate ſubſiſtance; and if the inhabitants of the laſt *city* ſhould, by the ſame labour, produce a quantity of ſubſiſtance ſpecifically more conſiderable; or elſe produce, by a leſs toilſome exertion of labour, a ſufficient ſubſiſtance, as they would be more powerful, ſo alſo would they be happier than the others; and this, in ſuch a degree, that were a war to be kindled betwixt the two *cities*, the inhabitants of the laſt *city* would be of courſe victorious.

To proceed ſtill farther, and obſerve what circumſtances muſt ariſe. The leaſt numerous, but the richeſt(*c*) people reſolve to bring their troops into the field. We will ſuppoſe them to muſter a thouſand men. Here, then, is a fourth part of the people deſiſting from labour: one, or the other of theſe conſequences

(*c*) By riches, muſt be underſtood ſubſiſtance. For, hitherto, we have kept clear from any idea of commerce, and current ſpecies.

quences muſt therefore follow; either that, as the country furniſhes a fourth part leſs of ſubſiſtance, the cultivators ſhould daily abridge themſelves of a portion of their conſumptions, in order to afford a livelihood to their ſoldiers; or, that they ſhould augment their labour to ſupply the want of that which theſe laſt had been conſtrained to abandon. But amongſt ſuch a people theſe two reſources are equally poſſible. We ſhall only obſerve that this alternative ſcarcely exiſts, as the two efforts are made together, ſo that the labouring diviſion of the people work ſomewhat more, and conſume ſomewhat leſs: and this it is, which ſupports all ſtates, during a war.

Let us now enquire into the ſituation of the other people. They, alſo, will raiſe a thouſand men; for in the firſt campaigns, the armies are generally equal; and it is rather from their hopes, than from their means, that the contending parties conclude that they ſhall prove ſucceſsful. The great difficulty is to diſcover how this little army muſt be ſupported. Will the five thouſand individuals left behind engage in additional labour? but their exceſſive labour will ſcarcely furniſh a ſufficiency for their own conſumption.

on. Will they conſume leſs? but, in this caſe, their conſumption will ſcarcely be ſufficient for their ſubſiſtance. At ſuch a criſis, and under ſuch hardſhips, how are they to keep their army on foot? how muſt they victual it? how muſt they recruit it? it ſeems, then, clearly proved that, excluſive of the diſadvantages to which a thouſand weak, and languiſhing ſoldiers muſt be always expoſed, in a contention againſt an equal number of powerful, and robuſt men, the ſingle difference in their means, and efforts, would at once determine the ruin of theſe people, more numerous, but alſo more miſerable than the other people.

It may, perhaps, be objected to me, that this is no more than an hypotheſis; and that I have taken the liberty of driving matters to an extreme. I allow it. Yes. I have ſtated circumſtances too ſtrictly; I have driven matters to an extreme; but it was only to put the queſtion in its full light. Now, let the objector add, diminiſh, and mark all the intermediate ſhades; but yet he muſt at leaſt confeſs that the principle is true, and that every hiſtorical event may be referred to it, either in a greater, or a leſs degree. What would

would have been the caſe, if the leaſt populous nation had enjoyed a greater capital in current ſpecies? what would have been the caſe, if, by ſuppoſing that every thing was to be bought, (as even men may be bought in our days,) all the efforts of war had conſiſted of expences? certainly, my principle, far from loſing any part of its application, muſt have acquired from it freſh light, and have become indiſputable.

I, notwithſtanding, foreſee an objection, which I ſhall endeavour to remove, before I conclude this chapter. *You mention* (it will be ſaid to me,) *the current ſpecies as a reſource, as a capital; and yet it appears that in the moſt expenſive wars, the decays of labour, of population, and of agriculture, conſtantly precede the exportation, or entire alienation of this capital. Such a war hath ruined a country, although it may not have been drained of a fourth part of its ſpecies.* I ſhall take the liberty to reply to this objection, only by the expoſition of a theory, which is, in my opinion, equally true, and ſimple.

As all commodities are vendible, and an interior commerce, which is but a kind of perpetual barter, may be carried on by exchange,

change, or with more, or fewer repreſentative ſigns, it would be natural to conſider all the current ſpecies within a ſtate as credit for a ſurplus of labour, or a production to be taken from a foreign ſtate; ſo that a nation, with an annual reproduction of ſix hundred millions, and poſſeſſing two hundred millions of ready money, might conclude that it had eight hundred millions of ſubſiſtance, at its diſpoſal: but as all kinds of exchange have been long ſince negociated by money; and as the transferring of ſtock, conveyances, barter, and payments could not take place without money, it follows that it is become impoſſible to diſpoſe of money as a capital, without diverting it, in a much greater proportion, from its functions, as a general agent in matters of commerce. In the human body, bleeding equally frees every veſſel; it is not ſo in the body politic: there, all ſuch attempts are attended with convulſions, nor can its œconomy be altered, without throwing it into diſorder, and confuſion. It is thus, that impoſitions attack properties, and ruin the provinces; it is thus, that borrowing, and the raiſing of extraordinary ſupplies prove the deſtruction of private fortunes, and an

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interruption to commerce: and hence, it happens that nations are overthrown much more by a bad adminiſtration, than by war. The reſult of all this is, that in the preſent ſtate of political ſocieties, the current ſpecies may well be conſidered as a capital which repreſents commodities, or foreign manufactures; but that, at the ſame time, it is a capital which is not to be diſpoſed of; that it muſt be collected together, and employed only in a ſmall portion; in ſhort, that the truly powerful nation, is the nation which, conſuming ſpecifically more, or labouring ſpecifically leſs than another nation, can, at a criſis, either recur to a ſaving of their ſubſiſtance, or an augmentation of their labour.*(d)*

CHAP.

(d) States are in poſſeſſion of capitals much more advantageous than gold, and ſilver. Theſe are their ſea-ports, their fortified places, their arſenals, their roads, their canals, their magazines, their farms, their manufactures, and all the edifices of uſe, either to agriculture, or to commerce. Theſe may be called the firſt ſetting out, the advances of a nation, without which nothing profitable can be expected. As to the reſt, it is unneceſſary to inform the reader, that if, in the courſe of this chapter, I have compared France to England, yet, all the obſervations concerning two people, of which, the one is rich, and the other poor, are

CHAP. VIII.

Concerning war, and the cauſes which may render it, in our times, more or leſs frequent.

IF it be not yet determined by the ſpeculators, which are the true ſymptoms of the felicity of the people, yet all muſt at leaſt agree that peace is generally the principle of it.

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are not to be referred to theſe two nations. The majority of the provinces of France are as rich, and as well cultivated as the counties of England.* The people

* *There is no nation in which the ſpirit of agriculture is more predominant than in France. It is at once our duty, and our intereſt to cheriſh it with equal enthuſiaſm, leſt as they* now *keep pace with us, they ſhould,* hereafter, *outſtrip us in the arts of cultivation. We have leſs reaſon to dread the oppoſition of their fleets and armies, formidable as they are, than an æra at which this rival nation may become the granary of Europe. Whilſt we turn aſide with indignation, from the multitude of our unſerviceable waſtes, let us invite the attention of the legiſlature to thoſe once barren tracts, now encloſed in France. It appears, by the moſt exact accounts, that from January* 1765, *to December* 1769, 360,000 arpents, *or nearly* 400,000 *Engliſh acres had been fenced, and cultivated. They*

it. Peace gives birth to ideas of tranquility, order, and welfare. Why then is this calm, which ought to follow her appearance, ſo often diſturbed, within free nations, by factions, and within other nations, by murmurs? it is becauſe individuals are, at once, much happier, and much leſs occupied. It is only in the moment when they are beginning to grow better, that they ſtruggle to be well. An apparently dying man, ſinking under the preſſure of his diſeaſe, feels nothing, hopes for nothing, fears nothing. Is the favorable criſis arrived? pain ſoon reminds him of his exiſtence. He is thrown into violent agitations; he complains; he begins

people of France, indeed, are not ſo much at their eaſe; but this is an advantage which can only be brought about by time, and the aſſiſtance of laws favorable to agriculture, ſuch as the exportation of corn, a redemption from average, an encouragement given to the introduction of good roads in the different neighbourhoods, and above all, an abolition of the arbitrary mode of collecting the taxes.

They produced at the loweſt eſtimation 900,000 *quarters of corn: the lands before in tillage, on account of the great improvement in their culture, equalled the above in their additional increaſe. One million, eight hundred thouſand quarters of corn are reckoned ſufficient to ſupply one million, five hundred thouſand individuals with bread, during a whole year, and will, perhaps, afford nearly a month's ſubſiſtance of bread to all the French.* K.

begins to fear death, and is already cured. So is it with the bodies politic. They muſt be unacquainted either with mankind, or with governments, who, when they hear of oppoſitions, remonſtrances, murmurs, &c. haſtily conclude that a nation is miſerable. Undoubtedly, the ſerenity of ancient Arcadia, or of modern Lignon, would form an enchanting ſituation; but men do not govern themſelves like the ſhepherds of Durfé;*(e)* and the laws of a powerful ſtate are not ſo

(e) The Aſtræa of Honoré D'Urfé, concluded by Baro, and publiſhed in 1643, is one of the beſt novels in the French language. I have no inclination to expatiate on productions, which, although they may have formerly contributed to ſoften the manners of a too unpoliſhed age, are, now, ſomething worſe than unſerviceable; but as the Aſtræa abſolutely was, what our modern novels pretend to be, *founded on real fact*, the admirer of adventures, if any ſuch ſhould take up this work, will not think the remainder of the note impertinent. Before Durfé, who was a knight of the order, repaired to Malta, where he reſided, during ſeveral years, he payed his addreſſes to, and was, in his turn, beloved by Mademoiſelle de Chaſteaumorant, the ſole heireſs of a very noble family. Whilſt he was abſent, ſhe gave her hand to his eldeſt brother. The union proceeded from intereſted views. The houſes of D'Urfé, and Chaſteaumorant had been long at variance, and as all

eaſily carried to perfection, as the laws of the *valley* of *Tempé*. As for me, were I to arrive in a country, where, at the capital, they ſpoke only of pleaſures and ſights; in the provinces only of plays and little intrigues; and in the country only of rain and of fine weather, I ſhould ſay, Behold a vain and ſtupid people, whom their frivolouſneſs blinds for a moment, but who, certainly, are running forwards to their own ruin. On the contrary,

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all the nobility of the country had entered warmly into the contentions of either the one party, or the other party, the parents of this couple were eager to eſtabliſh an alliance, deſtined to extinguiſh animoſities which had frequently proved fatal. Though D'Urfé, on his return, beheld, in his miſtreſs, the wife of his brother, yet ſtill he continued her admirer. We muſt ſuppoſe him to have ſighed away ten years, when an unexpected incident gave hopes to his paſſion. The huſband of Mademoiſelle, by this time, thought it proper to declare his inſufficiency. The marriage was annulled; Durfé obtained a diſpenſation from his own vows, as a knight of Malta, and, after having ſurmounted numberleſs difficulties, was wedded to the wife of his brother, who, with a better apology than the Roman prieſts can generally make to ſociety, for embracing a ſtate of celibacy, entered into orders, and died Dean of the Chapter of Saint John de Montbriſon, and Prior of Mont-Verdun. K.

trary, if I perceived all minds in action; if I obſerved them ſcrutinizing whatſoever might be good or bad, uſeful or detrimental; if public welfare, although frequently miſunderſtood, was the object of all their enquiries; if their converſations, whether reaſonable or ſplenetic, were often turned to legiſlation, agriculture, and commerce; if all theſe intereſting queſtions were diſcuſſed; if all different opinions were advanced, debated, and refuted; I ſhould ſay, Behold a people already exceedingly eſtimable, who begin to be happy, who deſerve to be happy, and who, in the end, will be more happy.

Caprice is to be condemned, when it is the vice of inferiors; but it is much more dangerous when it hath infected thoſe who govern. *They* muſt be careful to arm themſelves againſt that impatient temper, which frets at trifling attacks. The fermentation of diſcourſes and writings is inconvenient; but not alarming. Cromwel did not write *North Britons*, nor Jacques Clement *(f)* political

 pamphlets.

(f) Jacques Clement was the *pious* Dominican who aſſaſſinated Henry the third of France. By a kind of involuntary humanity, he was delivered from thoſe tor-

pamphlets. I have heard many Frenchmen, and even Engliſhmen, exclaim againſt the diviſions which have diſturbed England, ſince the peace. I have not met with a ſingle one, who hath recollected that from the Tarquins, to the Cæſars, the Roman republic aroſe only by diſſentions. We have already obſerved, and we repeat it again; without the exceſſive pride of the Patricians, and the ungovernable audacity of the Tribunes, perhaps this vaſt republic would have been only an ephemeral de-

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tortures which Ravaillac, and Damiens ſuffered with ſuch amazing reſolution. The courtiers who were preſent at the death of their unfortunate ſovereign, killed the murderer on the ſpot. In this enlightened age, when bigotry is out of faſhion, were it poſſible to ſtifle indignation, it muſt be curious to run over the religious diſtinctions which the contending parties gave to the moſt abominable crimes. When the mother of Clement appeared in Paris, the preachers of the League called on the people to *reverence the happy parent of an holy martyr*. The picture of this miſerable wretch was placed on the altars of the churches, and next to the repreſentations of Jeſus. Abbé de Longuerue obſerves, that the Sorbonne deliberated whether they ſhould aſk for his canonization. It is more than probable that the good doctors might have obtained it. Sextus Quintus, who pronounced the eulogium of Clement in the conſiſtory, and wiſely compared him to Judith, and Eleazar, could hardly have refuſed ſo ſmall a favour. K.

democracy, or a languiſhing ariſtocracy. In the time of Scipio, and Emilius, nothing was heard but complaints, reproaches and cenſures. Under Nero and Domitian, all was ſilence; but according to the ingenious expreſſion of a modern author, this calm was the calm of the grave.(g) Still happy is the French nation, as its tranquility is not dependent on a conſtantly uncertain, and frequently chimerical equilibrium, but on a general concurrence towards the maintenance of all moderating forms; the preſervation of all property on a reſpectable footing, the prevention of all precipitation in the adjuſtment of the laws, and the inſtruction of the legiſlator himſelf, by the liberty of thinking, ſpeaking and writing.

Let us be cautious, therefore, how we become enamoured of war, becauſe it intoxicates the mind with a thirſt for tranſient glory, and amuſes the people with public rejoicings, which are always interrupted by the tears of individuals. Let us be careful to remove from us all apprehenſions of peace,

(g) Monteſquieu hath ſomewhere obſerved, that the tranquility of ſuch a ſtate is like the mournful ſilence of a city, which the enemy is about to ſtorm. K.

becauſe it introduces diſcuſſions and interior emotions: let us rather, to give mankind their due, acknowledge that all paſſionate and unjuſt as they are, they muſt have conceived better ideas of their real intereſts, if they had not been always more drawn aſide than blinded. In fact, I conſider as a long diſtraction, thoſe wars which were undertaken to ſecure the conqueſt of the Milaneſe, and the kingdom of Naples. In the ſame light I view thoſe wars, the origin of which was, at firſt, the ambition of the houſe of Auſtria; afterwards the ambition of Lewis the Fourteenth; and, at length, that mad purſuit of a balance of power, which hath been ſince carried to ſuch extremes. Poſterity will never forgive an old doting miniſter, for having excited, with equal injuſtice and imprudence, a long quarrel, which hath tormented the political ſyſtem of Europe, but not changed it. This quarrel once appeaſed, how ſucceſsfully, how rapidly were all minds, at length, impelled towards the objects of real utility? with what eagerneſs did they not endeavour to enjoy the principal advantages of peace, ſuch as commerce, and agriculture?

ture?*(b)* I ſhall not ſpeak of the laſt war, becauſe too recent facts are the fields either of praiſe, or of ſatire; fields into which I do not pretend to enter: but I muſt obſerve, that if the quarrels of ambition have unfortunately drawn aſide the people, who ought to have laboured at the acquiſition of their welfare, the unjuſt deſire of obtaining an excluſive commerce, a commerce eſtabliſhed by domination, and preſerved by force, was alſo a cruel miſtake, of which ſeveral nations ſtill feel the effects. Let us hope that, harraſſed out at length by ſo many uſeleſs diſtractions, by ſo many dangerous blunders,

(b) I, here, place the word *commerce*, for the firſt time, before the word *agriculture*, becauſe all the publications during the laſt peace, ſeemed to have in view commerce rather than agriculture. Nothing was written, nothing was reviewed but commerce. It was then that this idle queſtion was agitated: *can nobility become commercial?* as if recruits were made in trade as amidſt the armies, and as if, in the firſt inſtance, capitals were not more neceſſary than individuals. Theſe writings were the precurſors of reaſon. *Non erant illi lux*, &c. It muſt however be remembered that Mr. Herbert* publiſhed the firſt and, perhaps, the beſt work which hath appeared on the freedom of the corn-trade.

* *Mr. Herbert was a French author, and died about twelve years ago.*

we may grow ſenſible that the intereſts of all the nations are the ſame, and may agree together. Let us hope that wars will become leſs obſtinate, and more uncommon; to feel a perſuaſion that theſe hopes are not frivolous, let us particularize the reaſons on which they are grounded.

We have, already, on ſeveral occaſions, given the reader to underſtand that, conſidering the preſent of Europe, every project for the acquiſition of univerſal monarchy muſt be raſh, and chimerical: but the impoſſibility of *executing* ſuch a project, is not ſufficient for the ſecurity of the people; in order to fix their ſafety, it is requiſite that it ſhould be impoſſible to *form* ſuch a project. Now, ſeveral reaſons concur, at preſent, to remove this idea even from the moſt fooliſh and ambitious mind. Not only a ſufficient equilibrium balances the powers of Europe; not only each ſtate, in particular, is enabled by the ſituation of its frontiers, by ſome fortified places, and by a number of proper troops, to reſiſt any ſudden attack; but alſo multiplied alliances, and defenſive treaties have rendered Europe one vaſt republic, one immenſe confederacy, the bonds of which can never

never be broken but by long and powerful efforts. The time is paſſed when by riſking two legions, there were hopes that a kingdom might have been conquered. The firſt armaments are become as expenſive as the laſt, and military knowledge, in general, equally diffuſed, ought, on this very account, to keep war at a diſtance, as a parity between two players at cheſs, ſoon cools their paſſion for the game. Beſides, all powerful nations are ſunk in debt. The weight of theſe debts, and of their taxes, is become ſo heavy, that it muſt be a caſe of neceſſity indeed, which could induce them to lay on an additional burden; and even the denomination of ſubſidies is changed, ſo that inſtead of means, there are now only reſources. There muſt be, therefore, ſomething more than ambition; there muſt be a very determined paſſion which can tempt a people to turn aggreſſors. But what ſhall excite this fury? ſhall national hatred excite it? national hatred exiſts only amongſt the mob, and is daily more and more deadened by commerce, and that frequent intercourſe which a taſte for travelling hath of late eſtabliſhed. Shall religious fanaticiſm excite it? there is

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nothing left for it to feed on, becauſe ſuch is the progreſs of reaſon, that, were a ſuperſtitious people ſtill to exiſt, they would be governed by wiſe and enlightened princes; and were ſuperſtitious princes to exiſt, they would govern people too well inſtructed to ſecond their folly.

How comfortable are the motives which induce us to hope that hereafter the repoſe of poliſhed nations will not be ſo often and ſo cruelly diſturbed! but, you can only inſpire the moſt poliſhed nations with this love of peace, this conſciouſneſs that it is their intereſt to preſerve it; and whilſt a long tranquility, whilſt a wiſe adminiſtration may have trained theſe nations up in the practice of all vertues, except warlike vertues, who will anſwer that no nation, poor, but fond of battles, enſlaved to prejudices, but deſpiſing death, ſhall come to deſtroy, in one day, the ſplendid edifice of this fleeting proſperity? *who will anſwer?* inſtructed and enlightened men, who do not hold themſelves compelled to think that all which *hath* been, *ſhall* be again, and that the ſame events muſt be reproduced, after cauſes ſhall have been altered. The Barbarians invaded the greater part of the world;

world; yet, let it be remembered that it was only the Roman empire which they invaded. Caligula wiſhed that the people of Rome had but one head, that he might have ſtricken it off at a blow. I know not whether the Barbarians were, in like manner, deſirous of finding but one maſter on the earth, in order that they might the more eaſily have triumphed; but this wiſh might have been accompliſhed. In fact, theſe people were not extremely formidable; they miſcarried in every ſiege which they undertook; and if the Romans, by keeping within their fortreſſes, had been ſatisfied with harraſſing the Barbarians, fatigue and diſeaſe muſt ſoon have deſtroyed them. But theſe laſt contended only againſt ill-diſciplined armies, and generals as much hated by the people as they were deſpiſed by the ſoldiers. Theſe ſoldiers themſelves were, for the moſt part, as great Barbarians as their enemies. A weak and tottering authority at Conſtantinople was unable to remedy loſſes ſuſtained near ſuch diſtant frontiers. The hands which fought were too far removed from the heart which was to invigorate them, and even this heart was feeble and corrupted.

We

We are not apprehenſive of declaring that every campaign, opened by the king of Pruſſia, hath been much more difficult to conduct, than the conqueſts of Attila. What muſt have been the caſe, had the Barbarians found on their march ſuch fortreſſes as Olmutz, or Schweidnitz? what muſt have been the caſe, if, inſtead of having contended againſt an undiſciplined multitude, commanded by domeſtics of the palace, and even by eunuchs, they had been forced to engage ſucceſſively with Pruſſia, Auſtria, and France? the Ruſſians muſt no longer be conſidered as a barbarous people; they go to war with a great train of artillery, proviſions, ammunition, &c. The Turks themſelves place great confidence in their cannon, and the prodigious number of ſlaves who follow their armies renders their campaigns exceedingly expenſive: now, let us ſuppoſe the rage of conqueſts to infect theſe nations; it muſt be curious to ſee them before ſuch a place as Straſbourg: *(i)* let us not be uneaſy about the

(i) The Turks ſucceeded at the ſiege of Candia; but the art of attacking, and beſieging places was not, at that period, carried to that perfection, to which it hath riſen

the Ruſſians, and the Turks. The Calmucs will not take Luxembourg; the Janiſſaries will not enter Beſançon; beſides, the Ottoman power is tending towards its diſſolution, without our having, on this account, any thing more to fear from the power of the Czars. Theſe ſovereign poſſeſſors of an immenſe country, aſſured of eaſy victories towards the *Eaſt*, will never undertake a dangerous march towards the *Weſt*; weak, and poor in their grandeur, they will employ themſelves in poliſhing their laws, and manners; and when they have ſucceeded, they will divide themſelves; their empire will be portioned out, and diſmembered, ſo that from its vaſt ruins, free, and happy ſtates will ariſe, as, once, there iſſued from the entrails of a bull, thoſe ſwarms of bees, the honey of which ſupplied mankind with ſweet and wholeſome nouriſhment.

Let us agree then, that it is no longer from vulgar, and barbarous prejudices, that men have

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riſen in our age. Beſides, the Venetians wanted ſuccours, and yet what reſiſtance did they not make?*

* *The Turks made a deſcent on this iſland in* 1644, *but it was not until after a ſiege of twenty years that they reduced the whole country, which, ſome few forts excepted, the Venetians ceded to them, at the concluſion of peace in* 1669. K.

have any reaſon to dread the return of their calamities. They muſt rather expect them to proceed from the abuſe of ſome ſound maxims newly eſtabliſhed. Such, for inſtance, as the generally acknowledged utility of a very extenſive commerce. If England, ſince the governments of Elizabeth, and Cromwel; if Holland, ſince her emancipation from abſolute power; and France ſince her ſubjection to it, have acquired by commerce, riches, and ſplendour, we are not to conclude that theſe advantages ought to be obtained by all means whatſoever. We muſt, in particular, be on our guard againſt the eaſieſt means, that is, againſt the force which favours uſurpation, and the ſpirit of excluſion which ſupports it; that an adminiſtration, with great projects, and with little views, ſhould be induced, in conſequence of a correſpondence between ſome governor, and the ſecretary of ſtate, in whoſe department he ſerves, to patch up a ridiculous plan, in order to extend, rather than ſecure our domination in America; that a rage for planting ſtakes in the ſnow, in order, afterwards, to erect fortreſſes on *maps*, and all that puerile ambition of *underlings*, ſhould have inſpired the government with

with an obſtinate paſſion for war, that the land-marks of ſome deſarts might be removed, are circumſtances which may be too eaſily conceived; but, that a nation which prides itſelf on being philoſophical, and politic; that a people, accuſtomed, for the two laſt centuries, to determine what was their real intereſt, ſhould conſtantly maintain this wild pretention to a conquering and excluſive commerce; that, blind to their trueſt advantages, they ſhould ſtill ſacrifice to this vain idol, muſt appear the more ſurpriſing, and, at the ſame time, the more afflicting, becauſe the ſpirit of councils is changed with much greater facility, than popular prejudices.

We may diſpenſe with reminding the Engliſh, that all traffic, not founded on a free exchange of commodities, is not commerce, but a tribute; that trade can have no object except to procure a nation more ſubſiſtance, and a greater variety of conſumptions; that to fulfil this object, trade ought to be extended, and that, of courſe, it cannot be eſtabliſhed on domination, becauſe every too extenſive a domination muſt fall ſooner, or later, and involve commerce in its ruin; ſuch advices, ſuch remonſtrances would be ſuperfluous;

fluous; a letter from America will tell them more, than all our philoſophy. But ere we proceed any farther, it may not, perhaps, in this place, be uſeleſs to make ſome obſervations on thoſe prejudices which have, hitherto, perverted the beſt employment of human induſtry.

We live in a metaphyſical age. Since the tranſient modes of geometry have arrived to clear away the ancient chaos of diſcuſſion, order and method are become faſhionable. Every writer on politics, now, aſcends to the origin of ſocieties. *A family is augmented, is divided, is ſubdivided*, &c. &c. And all this fine progreſſion is kept up, until he hath reached ſome particular queſtion, far removed from the point from which he ſet out. Is commerce the ſubject? he introduces three properties, or, if it muſt be ſo, three iſlands, one of which produces corn; another, wine; another, hemp; &c. &c. Thus, he unfolds the origin of every thing, ſomewhat like Moliere's philoſopher, when he explains the vowels to a ſcholar in his fortieth year.*(k)*

Now,

(k) It is ſcarcely neceſſary to obſerve that we allude only to thoſe authors who have wandered from their mark

Now, for the deluge. This deluge is the confuſion of every thing, the deſtruction of every principle, the fatal conſequence of the errors, paſſions, crimes, and follies of mankind. For a long while, the ſtudy of Chemiſtry was undertaken only to procure *gold*. The Spaniards confined their ſearch after this *gold*, to unknown lands; the Engliſh attacked the colonies of the Spaniards only to take this *gold* from them. Let us enquire, then, after facts, not amidſt metaphyſical abſtractions, not in preliminary diſcourſes, introductions, &c. but in hiſtory, and, above all, amongſt thoſe authors who have written without intention, and who have (if I may be allowed the expreſſion) treated of matters

mark to engage in uſeleſs expoſitions. There are very commendable performances, the chief object of which is to eſtabliſh principles, to analyſe opinions, and to found a doctrine. They cannot be written in too methodical, and even too abſtracted a manner. Such, in particular, is the *proſpectus* of the new *Dictionnaire du commerce*,* a valuable earneſt for the public, who expect with equal confidence, and impatience, this vaſt, and magnificent work, which they have the promiſe of.

* *This dictionary is, probably, already publiſhed; the compiler of it, is Abbé Morellet, a gentleman deſervedly celebrated for his profound knowledge of commerce, and politics.* K.

which they never were inclined to treat of at all.

The commerce of the moderns (as we have already obſerved) is not eſtabliſhed either to favour the communication of commodities, or to facilitate their exchange; it hath ſprung from avarice; it hath ariſen amidſt the fury of war, and the bitterneſs of national hatred; it hath taken for its principle, a ſpirit of excluſion, and domination; and it hath but too ſtrenuouſly maintained it, in our days. *Prima mali labes.* We muſt underſtand this diſeaſe in order to cure it; we muſt diſcover the origin of it, and redouble our efforts to turn to the advantage of reaſon, this work of our paſſions. It is a great point that gold, and ſilver are fallen into diſcredit; or, to explain myſelf more clearly, that mines, and the feeble commerce which they produce, are eſtimated according to their juſt value. But, if ſome of the Engliſh, (*I know too well that ſpirit of ambition, and coveteouſneſs which ſtill reigns within this nation, to mention the Engliſh in general,*) if ſome of the Engliſh then deſpiſe the mines of Braſil, and Peru, they ſtill feel a terrible inclination for thoſe *galleons*, the capture of which brings a real fortune to private

private individuals, and preſents the public with a phantom of tranſient affluence. . . . . *Auri ſacra fames!* . . . . . Ah! without purſuing theſe dangerous acquiſitions, let them divide their commons, let them aſſimilate their vaſt heaths, with the rich countries of Kent, and of Yorkſhire. Here, are their moſt fertile mines; here, are their Potoſi, their Peru, and the real ſources of their riches.*(l)*

I freely addreſs myſelf to the Engliſh, as they are the moſt infected with the rage of aggrandizement, and excluſion. The French have, for ſome time paſt, apparently adopted more reaſonable principles. But I ſhall, with equal freedom, apply to all nations: *Deceive yourſelves no longer, by judging of your power, or your happineſs, from illuminated maps. Be particularly careful leſt you conclude amongſt yourſelves thoſe treaties of commerce, which only follow treaties of peace, in order to*

(l) Although ſeveral commons have been incloſed and cultivated in England, there are many ſtill neglected, ſuch a diviſion not having been made, as the French imagine, in conſequence of a general act of parliament, but in compliance with petitions from different counties for the incloſure of ſome of their waſtes, the which petitions paſſed into private bills.

deſtroy them, like thoſe worms, which ſticking to the European *ſhips on their return from* America, *eat into their ſides. Or, if you ſhould be obliged to make ſome reciprocal arrangements, let liberty be their baſis; let all the nations be treated with equal juſtice. Be leſs anxious to procure peace by riches, than riches by peace. No more of theſe idle reſervations of rights and preference; ſtipulate only for liberty; under her auſpices every advantage will ſpring up; all will be proſperity; and, each nation having a great quantity of productions, and feeling the want of a great variety of other productions, commerce muſt be eſtabliſhed, for the future, ſolely on the general welfare.*

We have expreſſed our wiſhes; let us now declare our hopes. They will always be derived from the progreſs of human reaſon: but as political events conſiderably accelerate, or retard this progreſs, which is naturally ſlow and timid, we ſhall obſerve that the laſt war, or rather the peace which followed it, muſt have ſuch an influence over future times, that our poſterity will, probably, conſider it as the epoch of an intereſting revolution. Every peace, which leaves things in the ſame ſituation, in which they ſtood before the war,

war, ſhould only be regarded as a truce, or ſuſpenſion of arms. The reaſon of it is very plain. Each nation had an object; this object became ſtill more important on account of the efforts which it excited. They were ſtill more attached to it. Inſtructed by the event, they conclude themſelves ſure of taking more ſucceſsful meaſures; their diſpoſitions, then, are the ſame, and the fire remains concealed under the embers. Such was the peace of Aix la Chapelle. The Engliſh having taken l'Iſle Royale, and the French having taken Madras, the firſt were concerned, becauſe they did not conquer all Canada; and the laſt were vexed, becauſe they had not deſtroyed the Engliſh ſettlements on the coaſts of India. A formidable army, encouraged by the preſence of their king, and led on by an excellent general, employed four campaigns in taking ſome towns in Flanders. They flattered themſelves at London, that, at another time, with abler generals, more unanimity, and more vigilance, Flanders might be better defended, whilſt other conqueſts might more eaſily have procured the reſtitution of what had, there, been loſt. On the other hand, the French, unfortunate in

Italy, were conſtantly ſuggeſting, that if it had not been for their checks at Plaiſance, and Aſta, they might eaſily have given laws to that country. Minds were ſtill in a ſtate of fermentation. On the firſt pretenſions for a rupture, each party having its projects, and plans of aggrandizement ready, the proſecution of their contentions was taken up exactly where they had left it.

It was not ſo, at the concluſion of the peace in 1762; the conſiderable loſſes which we had ſuſtained in our colonies warned us, for the firſt time,*(m)* to direct our attention towards that quarter; whilſt an unfortunate experience taught us to embrace the ſureſt precautions againſt the rekindling of a war, the ſucceſs of which muſt be uncertain, and the diſaſters of which muſt be irreparable. On the other hand, the dangerous preſent which we have made the Engliſh ſeems to have doubly removed all pretexts for a rupture, by deſtroying

(m) I ſay for the firſt time, becauſe it is very certain that, in the reign of Lewis the fourteenth, the ſacrifices made at the peace of Utrecht were not conſidered as real loſſes. The eſtabliſhment of Philip the fifth was, then, imagined to have been a more than ſufficient indemnification.

ing every conteſtation relative to limits, and by inſpiring the Americans with a dangerous confidence, which conducts them, by little and little, towards independence.

Several perſons, impatient for the reſult, will, perhaps, ſuppoſe that a civil war is on the point of breaking out between the Engliſh colonies, and the Mother-country; and even within the colonies. I, on the contrary, perceive a cloſe union amongſt themſelves, long diſputes with the Mother-country, perpetual ſhifts, meaſures reſolved on and diſcarded, palliatives, and half conciliations which will preſerve the name, yet ſuffer things to change, ſo that theſe colonies may continue to flouriſh by their agriculture, by their commerce, and particularly by their contraband trade, whilſt they will be more detrimental to the Mother-country, and inſtead of augmenting, balance her power: all which circumſtances intimate rather a contentious peace, than a deciſive war. As to Aſia, if I conſult our ill ſucceſs, there, as a great misfortune now paſt, I cannot avoid regarding the demolition of our ramparts at Pondicherry, the extinction of our ancient pretenſions in India, and, above all, the abo-

lition of the privileges of the Eaſt-India company, as a great advantage not only for the preſent, but likely to continue ſo in the future. The Engliſh, become the farmers-general of the Mogul, or of his Nabobs, have, indeed, enriched themſelves, on this occaſion; but if matters ſhould preſerve the ſame footing on which they reſt at preſent, this fortune can never be looked upon as belonging to commerce, or even as connected with the colonies; it will never be any thing more than a precarious eſtabliſhment, ſubject to the habitual revolutions of Indoſtan, and expoſed to the firſt invaſion of the Morattoes, or the enterprizes of ſome other Thomas Kouli Kan. If, on the contrary, the Engliſh, by dint of men, battles, and expences, were to acquire a real property in this country, there could then be no doubt but they muſt reduce India, and even the greater part of Aſia; but this eſtabliſhment muſt enter into the claſs of the American colonies; with this difference alſo, that, there, authority would be ſo much the more deſpiſed, as the inhabitants would be farther removed from it, and as they would dwell within a country affording every kind of production. In all this,

this, I perceive nothing which ought to alarm either France, or Spain. The Dutch, perhaps, may take ſome umbrage at it; but they poſſeſs iſlands which are difficult of acceſs, and fortreſſes in a ſtate of defence; and, after all, what probability is there that the Engliſh, about to plunder Aſia, ſhould exhauſt their forces in an attack againſt Batavia?*(n)*

In treating of the political ſituation of the kingdoms of France and England, we preſume that we have inveſtigated the real ſources of the war: for Germany cannot wage war, for any length of time, without the aid of theſe two powers. If, however, we were to paſs our private opinion, of this part of Europe, we ſhould obſerve that the Auſtrian, and Pruſſian troops perform their exerciſe too well, to give us any room to imagine that war is on the point of breaking out between them. Two awkwark fencers take up the foils,

(n) Well may the Engliſh proſper in the Eaſt-Indies; it muſt always be at an exceſſive coſt that they can keep on foot ten thouſand European troops: it is true that they are ſufficient to conquer India, but were they to loſe only three, or four thouſand men, in a war againſt the Dutch, they would run the riſque of ſeeing Bengal and all their poſſeſſions on the coaſt taken from them.

foils, and lunge againſt each other, at a venture. Two maſters of the art replace them; they meaſure each other with their eyes; they touch each other; they threaten each other; but wait a long time before they engage.

CHAP. IX.

The conſequences of war; the wounds of humanity ſtill remaining to be cloſed. The advantages, and diſadvantages reſulting from the preſent ſituation of ſome ſtates.

AS the reflections which we have made in the preceding chapters, have induced us to preſume that wars will be hereafter leſs long, and leſs expenſive, it now remains that we ſhould enquire whether, as matters fall out, we have not too dearly bought a repoſe, for which we are indebted only to our exhauſted ſituation; and whether we have not bartered away ſome tranſient calamities, for long ſufferings. We enjoy tranquility, but we are poor;

poor; and is not this apparent eaſe on which we congratulate ourſelves, owing to a continual effort which aſſimilates the ſtate of peace, even with the ſtate of war? invaſions and conqueſts are no longer dreaded; but this reliance is grounded only on our numerous fortreſſes, and our immenſe armies; dear enſurancers of treaties! and whilſt we load ourſelves with theſe enormous expences, we ſtill bear the whole weight of debts which have been contracted by our fathers.

Yet a freſh war hath ariſen within the boſom of the ſtates: this war more ruinous than bloody, more troubleſome than terrifying, is kindled throughout the nation, between the people, and the government, or rather between the contributor, and the exactor. New armies have been raiſed, in order to be conſtantly in action, without ever entering into winter quarters; and whilſt our battalions, after having gone through the eaſy performance of their exerciſe, are at peace in the midſt of the different cities, where, frequently they even aſſiſt trade, and help induſtry, the brigades of the farmers-general always keep open the campaign, occupy poſts, eſtabliſh patroles, and ſend out detachments.

ments. This is not all; a want of concurrence between the nations, and their ſovereigns hath turned the levy of the ſubſidies, at one moment, into ſhocking robberies, and at another moment, into low pilferings. The preference was given to this mode of collecting the taxes, as it appeared likely to be attended with fewer obſtacles, and leſs difficulty: means equally deſtructive, and extravagant have been ſucceſſively recurred to. The moſt uſeful employments have been changed into burdenſome offices, and the vileſt functions into honorable poſts. One would have imagined that the miniſters, and the citizens had revived the ancient laws of Sparta, which countenanced theft, provided that it was cleverly committed. The people, unoppoſing, and defenceleſs, were ſinking beneath the loads of impoſition, whilſt exemptions ſold to the rich ſtill redoubled the weight of theſe ſeverities. Then, oppreſſion became a ſyſtem; for the more ruinous the tax was, at a higher rate were the means of eſcaping from it, diſpoſed of. . . . . But let us haſten to draw the curtain over this fatal picture, which we ſhould not, here, have painted with ſuch lively colours, if we had

had not been deſirous of convincing our readers, that no objection ſhall be neglected. Let us rather enter into a more particular detail, nor refuſe to unfold the ſequel of our ideas, even although theſe ideas ſhould ſtill involve us in ſome diſcuſſions.

Let us firſt allow, to make the queſtion yet plainer, that the picture which we have juſt exhibited, can ſcarcely be referred to any kingdom, but France. In fact, howſoever immenſe the debts of England and Holland may be, the arrears are eaſily paid off. In Holland, nearly all the public revenue is raiſed on conſumptions, the method of collecting the levies is plain and eaſy, whilſt the activity of commerce and the affluence of ſtrangers leſſen the weight of them. In England, the duties are vaſt, and multiplied: yet, they may be referred to three principal duties; namely, the Land-Tax, the Cuſtoms, and the Exciſe. Now, as the land-tax is generally aſſeſſed according to an ancient ſurvey, it is attended with double the advantage of being conſtant and uniform, and of having acquired, by the lapſe of time, the merit of proportion. For almoſt every eſtate having

ing changed its poſſeſſor, ſince that period, the inequality in the divſion of this tax hath been compenſated by ſales and purchaſes; and thus it is that every ſurvey muſt prove uſeful in itſelf, and ſoon become juſt and proportional. But we, in France, are much too wiſe to undertake ſo rude a piece of buſineſs, and ſhall paſs away another century in meaſuring lands, and weighing ſheaves, before we deliver ourſelves from our arbitrary taxes. The duties of the cuſtoms are conſiderable in England; but they are chiefly collected at the diſtant frontiers, and when you have payed the duties either at Portſmouth, or at Edinburgh, you may travel all over Great Britain, without any other permit. I muſt confeſs that the Exciſe, which introduces ſuch viſitors into private houſes, and eſtabliſhes a kind of domeſtic inquiſition, hath conſtantly appeared to me in the moſt odious light; yet, at the ſame time, I grant that I have no where ſeen the effects of all this anſwer my conjectures. It is introduced in Flanders, Germany, Holland, and England; but, in every one of theſe countries, doth not occaſion any complaints, murmurs, or

ſuits.

ſuits.(o) The Engliſh pay a Window-Tax; and were the powers of eloquence to be employed in the ſervice of diſcontent, I know how fine a field for exclamation is opened to them by a law, which extorts a price for air and light; yet, after all, this duty is equal, and uniform. A collector cannot, either through avarice or animoſity, reckon up as many windows to your houſe, as he pleaſes; and beſides, theſe impoſitions have been conſented to, and approved of, by the people. In a word, I ſhall not ſcruple to declare, that the Engliſh may, indeed, ſuffer by their luxury, and the unequal diſtribution of riches; but they do not languiſh under the weight of taxes; they are not unfortunate on account of their debts and their expences. It is not ſo with the French; although the duties would not lie heavier on them, were they more equitably divided. But, here, the ground and expediency of the tax diſappear, under thoſe hideous forms in which they are arrayed, and the contribution of ſubjects, lawful in itſelf,

(o) The Artois, which is under the moſt excellent adminiſtration, that we have in France, is ſubject to an exciſe; and yet there are no complaints.

itſelf, is incumbered with every odious circumſtance which can attend the manner of gathering it.

In order perfectly to underſtand the intrinſic ſtate of the kingdom of France, we muſt ſeparate two things, which moſt opinions have but too often united; and theſe are, the national debt, in itſelf, and the means which are taken to pay off the arrears of it: But this is a matter which muſt be conſidered apart, and which ſhall compoſe the ſubject of the next chapter. It will, in this place, be ſufficient to obſerve, that there are ſeveral provinces of France which have eſcaped theſe troubles: and they are the provinces which have been ſo fortunate as to have been governed by ſtates; even amongſt others, we may perceive a wiſe adminiſtration, daily ſupporting them againſt the vices of the legiſlation; the enlightened precaution of intendants warding off arbitrary grievances; and particular ſurveys, and exact numerations operating as remedies againſt the diſorders of impoſition. If pecuniary edicts have clogged our commerce, and fettered our induſtry, a vigilant miniſter now, and then, breaks theſe chains, diſpenſes with ſome

improper regulations, modifies thoſe laws which it would be difficult to aboliſh, and, thus, relieves the patient whom he cannot cure.*(p)* One may even venture to affirm, that a certain eaſe, a kind of proſperity appears within the kingdom; but it hath not yet gained its level; it hath not reached the moſt uſeful claſſes, the lower people, the cultivators. All, therefore, is not ſo bad as may be, at firſt, imagined; but all is far, much too far from being well; and whether the burden be increaſed, or diminiſhed, the reſult will continually be, that the French are, of all people thoſe who ſuffer the moſt from impoſitions. The point to be enquired into, is, by what advantages theſe inconveniencies have been compenſated. I ſhall mention

(p) Mr. de Trudaine was the firſt who gave freedom to commerce. Until his time, it was a galley-ſlave chained to the oar. It is now ſuch; at liberty to go to, and fro, yet wears about its foot the ring, which, whilſt it impedes its progreſs, denotes its ſervitude. Mr. de Trudaine did not, at his death, leave liberty without a defender. What *he* thought of, his ſon hath dared to execute. It is to him that commerce owes its deareſt liberty; the liberty of exporting corn. It is a title acquired in contradiction to the opinion of the preſent age; and it will be gratefully acknowledged by the ages to come.

mention but two advantages, and theſe are intereſting indeed; they may be expreſſed in few words: leſs of war, and leſs of deſpotiſm.

Leſs of war: becauſe if the ambition of the nobility, of ſome miniſters, of ſome courtiers ſhould, at times, be inclined to rekindle it, the ſtate of the finances comes, at once, to lay itſelf open, and ſtops them ſhort. The difficulty of paſſing new edicts, of raiſing freſh ſubſidies; the fear of diſturbing by murmurs, or by reforms, the pleaſures of a ſplendid, and oſtentatious court; the inextricable labyrinth in which the miniſtry find themſelves engaged; the advantages given to certain bodies ready at ſeizing on all occaſions of reſiſtance, and every mean of preſerving popularity; all theſe obſtacles are as ſo many ſhields for the people, as ſo many barriers which ſtop the firſt ſally of a nation more enterpriſing, than prudent.

Leſs of deſpotiſm: becauſe in all the countries of the world, the wants of their exchequer are the trueſt tutors of kings. The moſt abſolute monarchs muſt, in the end, confeſs that their authority which renders them the maſters of individuals, is an uſeleſs

power, to which they cannot be fond of having recourſe, and which is only made ſubſervient to the private intereſts of the miniſters; they muſt confeſs, I ſay, that this authority, powerful when exerted againſt particular individuals, is inefficacious, when turned againſt fortunes. A man who hath offended by unbecoming indiſcretions, may be impriſoned; but it is not uſual to commit to the *Baſtille*, either ſovereign courts, or the ſtates of a province, or proprietors who declare that it is impoſſible for them to pay any thing. Beſides, it frequently happens, that preſſing neceſſities give riſe to ſome reſpectful conceſſions. Bodies continually on the watch, keep an exact regiſter of the moſt trifling ſteps which may have been taken to gain them; and ſoon a ſeries of well-bred compliances is diſcovered to have eſtabliſhed a right; for, as we have obſerved in a former part of this work, what are the laws of mankind but example and cuſtom?

Let no bad conſtruction be put on theſe reflections. I am ſenſible of the confidence which the French nation ought to place in the character, and in the heart of the ſovereign who governs them. I know how much they

they have to expect from the conduct of the two miniſters,(q) to whom their prince hath, for ſome time paſt, entruſted the departments of war, and of peace. In this place, it is not caprice, it is eſteem which prevents me from launching out into their praiſe; but a philoſopher writes for every age, and for every country. The ſame kingdom which weeps over the memory of Henry the fourth, deteſts the name of Lewis the eleventh. The

(q) It may not be improper to acquaint the reader, that the miniſters alluded to, are the duke de Choiſeul, and the duke de Praſlin. The Chevalier de Chatellur had finiſhed his work, and ſent it into Holland, in order to have it printed, ſome time before theſe noblemen loſt their places. The events, which, for the laſt two years, have ſo diſturbed, and afflicted France, were not even thought of, during the adminiſtration, from which my illuſtrious friend ſaw ſo much to hope, and ſo little to fear. It is needleſs to expatiate on the meaſures, which have been ſince purſued in that kingdom. Indignation, pity, and applauſe are all excited in every reference to the mercileſs oppreſſions, and unſhaken patriotiſm which have at once diſgraced, and exalted France. In the elegant letter, written by the duke de Choiſeul to his miſguided maſter, he modeſtly declared that he *ſhould occupy himſelf in his retreat, in praying that his ſucceſſor might unite more talents, with as much zeal.* By ſome dreadful fatality, the prayer ſeems to have been every way reverſed. K.

light, and ſuperficial mind perceives only the preſent; but reflection takes in the paſt time, and the time to come. Obſerve the veſſel on the ſea: the mariners are buſied on the decks; they mount upon the yards, unfurl the ſails, and ſet the tackling in its proper place; all appears in motion; the officer commands, the inferior obeys; the pilot alone ſeems idle; yet it is He who ſteers the ſhip, obſerves her courſe, and takes her bearings. States, and ſocieties tend all towards one point. But, is their motion ſlow, or rapid, direct, or oblique, progreſſive, or retrograde? theſe queſtions are, in my opinion, of much more conſequence than diſputes concerning plays and operas. And although ſome ill-diſpoſed minds were to take offence at it, I dare advance that they might lend attention to him who diſcuſſes theſe queſtions, particularly, if his manner of writing be neither ſyſtematical, nor romantic.

The welfare of the people is ſo ſacred a point, that it cannot be rendered too ſecure. We may make great allowances for the vertues of mankind, yet let us treat with their intereſts. It muſt be owing to the exertions of more than human vertues, were ſovereigns,

who

who might be, all, poſſeſſed of conſiderable revenues, and even of ſaving funds, not to endeavour at the extenſion of their power and dominion. Should there be, at ſome particular period, princes without pride, and without ambition, they muſt be conſidered as preſents which nature but ſeldom makes, and which ſhe doth not confer on all nations, at the ſame time. Now, if war were not become ſo difficult, and ſo expenſive, two, or three ambitious princes might be able to diſturb all Europe. Flattery hath praiſed ſovereigns too extravagantly; malignity hath condemned them too ſeverely. Who, amongſt us, can tell how he would have acted on ſeveral occaſions, could he have executed whatſoever he might have deſired to execute? have we always proceeded with the ſame diſcretion? have we always loved our fellow creatures? have we always contended againſt our paſſions? hath even the beſt of kings been conſtantly the ſame, during every inſtant of his life? Titus was irreproachable; but Titus reigned only two years. Princes, like other men, are in ſubjection to the courſe of nature. More preſumptuous, more ardent in their youth, more ambitious, more

obſtinate in their maturity, more jealous in their age, they are the arbiters of mankind, and the ſlaves of nature, and the times. Let us, therefore, for the ſake of our ſuperiors, for the ſake of our kings, for our own ſakes, never wiſh that it may be eaſy to perpetrate what is ill.

Enough hath been advanced concerning theſe truths; to good minds they have been ſufficiently explained; to baſe, and corrupted minds it might be dangerous to unfold them more openly. It would be even time to leave the reader to his own reflections, were we not in hopes of ſtill engaging him to extend them, by affording him an inſight into a very important object, and ſo liable to be daily diſcuſſed, that whoſoever is deſirous of increaſing his ideas concerning the lot of humanity, may expect to find this diſpute ſoon reduced to one ſingle point. This capital point is the national debt. It is the cuſtomary topic at councils, within the circle of miniſters, and amongſt the people. On this ſubject, numerous works have been written; numerous ſyſtems have been propoſed, and ſeveral of theſe ſyſtems have been carried into execution. Different governments have

adopted

adopted different principles. Even experience hath had time to enlighten us; and yet we dare preſume that if the reader ſhould, for a moment, favour us with his attention, he will perceive that this ſubject ſtill ſuggeſts ſeveral new ideas, which require explanation, and brings forward ſeveral old ideas, which ſhould be rectified.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

On the National Debt.

IT is almoſt a century ſince France, England, and Holland, having obſtinately perſevered in the proſecution of expenſive wars, they who governed theſe nations felt themſelves obliged to borrow conſiderable ſupplies. I mention thoſe who governed theſe nations, becauſe if the nations themſelves had diſcuſſed their true intereſts, they could have found no reaſon for contracting debts. In fact, as they were in poſſeſſion of nearly all the riches of Europe, they played, at the ſame time, the parts of lenders, and borrowers, ſo that all this motion of money was but

but an inteſtine motion. It might, therefore, have been eaſy for them to have impoſed upon themſelves a contribution adequate to the ſums which they raiſed only by borrowing. But, on the one hand, William the third would have experienced too great a difficulty in perſuading the Engliſh, and particularly the *Tories*, to ſacrifice the greater part of their fortune, in order to pull down Lewis the Fourteenth; and, on the other hand, Lewis the Fourteenth, all abſolute as he was, could never have arbitrarily diſpoſed of the eſtates of his ſubjects, to carry on thoſe wars, in which his ambition alone had involved him. As to the Dutch, although a particular vengeance, and a more immediate intereſt had animated them, it was ſtill no eaſy matter to obtain from them conſiderable ſubſidies. The rich commercial men, who formed the greater part of the republic, ſaw with too much regret the fruits of a long, and painful induſtry devoured by Germans and Spaniards. We even read in the negociations of the count d'Avaux,*(r)* that the province

(r) The letters, and negociations of count d'Avaux relate to the peace of Nimeguen, at the concluſion of which,

province of Holland, during a long time, oppoſed the war, and were more inclined to France, whom they feared only as a dangerous neighbour, than to the prince of Orange, whom they dreaded as an ambitious maſter. Theſe embarraſſing ſituations obliged the government to take the mildeſt meaſures; it was neceſſary to prevent the people from feeling the load which was caſt upon them: the aſſiſtance of poſterity (if I may ſo call it) was demanded; poſterity was burdened with all that

which, this nobleman acted, and with great addreſs, as plenipotentiary. On his entrance into public buſineſs, he was a counſellor of parliament, then maſter of the requeſts, and, at length, embaſſador to the republic of Venice. He was, alſo, ſucceſſively employed at the courts of Holland, England, and Sweden. To the family d'Avaux, the ſtate of France is indebted for ſome very excellent ſervants. The uncles of the count held important poſts, with great reputation. Henry, in conjunction with Marſhal de Biron, negociated the peace of 1570. Although their conduct, on this occaſion, appeared equally politic, and irreproachable, yet, as the Spaniards ſoon broke this peace, the wits of the time beſtowed on it an appellation deſigned to ridicule whilſt it preſerved the memory of thoſe who made it. De Biron was lame; the country ſeat of d'Avaux was called Malaſſiſe. Hence, aroſe a pun, which, in that age, muſt have been highly reliſhed, either in France, or in England. . . . "*C'etoit la paix boiteuſe, et mal aſſize.*" K.

that weight, from which it was wiſhed that the preſent generation might be exempted. The method of borrowing, therefore, proceeded from the weakneſs of the government, or from a certain regard for properties, which will be always neceſſary whenſoever wars may not be undertaken either to defend a native country, or to avenge thoſe cruel inſults, which, raiſing a general outcry, precipitate the people into a war.(s)

No one can doubt that uſeleſs wars carried on at a great expence muſt prove deſtructive. Every nation, therefore, which borrows in order to wage war, is labouring to its own ruin. But in what manner doth this ruin operate? are the ſums borrowed burdenſome only

(s) During the league of Cambray, the republic of Venice was not obliged to have recourſe to borrowing, although engaged in defending herſelf againſt ſo many united powers. Every one ſubmitted to a kind of tax on conveniences, and contributed according to his means. This was becauſe the danger was real, and preſſing; it was becauſe the Venetians loved their government; and becauſe each citizen would have ſacrificed his all to preſerve it. In the ſame manner, the Dutch, in 1672, did not borrow in order to bring their armies into the field. They had no recourſe to this ſcheme, until other intereſts had been exerted, and until the war became obſtinate, and unſerviceable.

only as repreſenting an exceſſive expence? or, are they of themſelves pernicious, as perpetuating the charges of the ſtate? to examine this point thoroughly, we muſt recur to thoſe principles, which we have already eſtabliſhed, in our ſecond chapter. Let us remember that all riches, all property, all contribution muſt be eſtimated as labour. We have ſuppoſed *(Chapter* 2. *Section* 1.*)* that each individual was obliged to divide his time between all the works neceſſary to his ſubſiſtance; we obſerved that, in this caſe, all contribution was to be conſidered as the ſaving which each individual might be able to make from his labour, and which ought to be meaſured by that labour of which every man is ſtill capable, after having provided againſt his own wants. The inequality of fortunes makes no alterations in this theory, which puts all rich particulars on the ſame level with ſovereigns, or the ſtate; that is, it allows for a certain number of men who do not labour at all, and who have a right to make others labour. I ſay a right, becauſe he who hath a property in fund, acquires a real right to the labour of him, who hath none. Now, every rich proprietor can have

no

no pretenſions but to the over-plus of labour, of which the individual whom he employs can diſpoſe, after having provided for his own ſubſiſtance. It is thus, that a farmer, having ſixty ſheaves, cannot take away ſeventeen buſhels, until the thraſher of the barn ſhall have withdrawn one for himſelf. A rich man, a great man, is a man who hath a right to the labour which a large number of individuals can diſpoſe of: he is a man who hath employed an hundred cultivators, the which, having put by three hundred *ſetiers* of corn for their ſubſiſtance, ſupplied him with three thouſand *ſetiers*, which he hath expended in maintaining tailors, cooks, fiſhers, hunters, &c. The real inequality of fortune lies between thoſe who labour, and thoſe who make others labour: it is to be found, alſo, between thoſe who are obliged to labour much, and thoſe who procure their ſubſiſtance at a ſmall coſt: diſtinctions which depend on local circumſtances, on induſtry, and even on talents: to eſtimate theſe, is difficult.

Be this as it may, let us admit the principles, and ſuppoſe a war to break out between two nations. The people of each party, and

their

ther repreſentatives might reaſon thus: *Matters are ſo circumſtanced, that a ſmall number amongſt us, nearly a thirteenth part, is ſufficient to maintain all the reſt. The other twelve thirteenth parts have ſcarcely any means of acquiring their ſhare of this ſubſiſtance, but by offering objects of exchange, by inciting the deſires of the cultivator and the proprietor. The expences of this claſs, therefore, maintain the other claſs, it doth not ſignify which: one very true, and very important conſideration is, that in the preſent ſtate of things, in order that every one may ſubſiſt, it is requiſite that there ſhould always be the ſame quantity of expences. Now this is what will happen during the war; for if we go to diſpoſe of part of this ſubſiſtance, it is alſo to diffuſe it; and whereas you were accuſtomed to give it to men who embroidered your clothes, who wainſcotted your apartments, and who amuſed you, by their talents, we ſhall diſtribute it amongſt men who will guard our frontiers, who will fortify our towns, who will make our arms, &c. Be then extremely eaſy: the ſame quantity of expences will always exiſt, the ſame ſources of labour will be open; thus, all thoſe who will no longer find work in their profeſſion, may meet with new employments in the*

the different reſources which are here offered to ſtrength and induſtry.

I confeſs that after ſuch an expoſition it would be difficult to ſuppoſe that war was ruinous to the people. War would, notwithſtanding, be an evil: for clothes, furniture, and ornamented houſes give pleaſure to thoſe who pay for them; and war is an expence which doth not give pleaſure to any one: but war would not deprive any perſon of the means of ſubſiſtance; and were it to laſt but a ſhort time, the circulation of labour would ſoon fall into its former direction, whilſt the nation may have expended a ſum, and yet not be ſunk in debt. The caſe is quite otherwiſe. This poſſeſſion of a capital, this faculty of employing the labour of thoſe whom we enable to ſubſiſt, indifferently, on every thing which can prove agreeable to us, hath long ſince received the name of property. We ſhall not, here, examine how the idea of property is formed: we ſhall only obſerve, that in general, and, particularly, in the preſent ſtate of ſociety, it hath been exceedingly uſeful to mankind. We are, therefore, very far from depreciating it; but we muſt remark that luxury being but the uſe of pro-

perty, is become property itſelf, or rather a kind of right; ſo that whenſoever it was requiſite to relieve the neceſſities of war, the removal of riches, by changing the objects of labour, was conſidered as an attempt too dangerous to be ventured on. Hence it happened, that whilſt there was a neceſſity for employing a great number of men in new profeſſions, the rich preſerved the privilege of purchaſing the labour of the people, in competition with the ſtate. Luxury, magnificence, and pleaſure have preſerved the greater part of their agents, and the government, having been obliged to purchaſe the labour of the lower people, at the expence of the lower people, this labour hath been thrown back as an additional load on the cultivators, and on all the artiſans who concur with them, either in the production, or in the preparation of ſubſiſtance. Thus, nations have been cruſhed, becauſe the burden which ſhould have been divided between all, hath been borne only by thoſe claſſes of citizens the moſt uſeful to the ſtate. Thus, war hath augmented the general labour, which is already an evil; and it hath augmented it in an unequal, and oppreſſive manner, which is

a ſtill

a ſtill greater evil. Perhaps, it may always have been difficult to prevent this inconvenience; for it muſt be obſerved, that in every ſociety, whether induſtrious, or commercial, each individual hath ſcarcely more than one way of ſubſiſting, and this may be called his art, his profeſſion. Each buſineſs forms a claſs apart, a particular ſociety within a general ſociety, a ſtate within the ſtate. Now, men cannot eaſily change their profeſſion; they are as caterpillars fixed to a leaf; ſhould the tree wither, they muſt die with it. It is for this reaſon, that during unfortunate wars, we frequently obſerve twenty thouſand manufacturers periſhing with hunger, whilſt twenty thouſand ſoldiers are needful to make up the compliment of the armies, whilſt the arſenals are empty, and the armaments languiſh for want of hands. Add to this, that the right of property, and the inequality of fortunes having eſtabliſhed a great competition between thoſe who demand ſubſiſtance as the price of their induſtry, a competition by ſo much the greater on their part, as the want of ſubſiſtance is more preſſing than the want of the enjoyments, and amuſements of life, it hath happened that labour hath always

too nearly approached to a level with the ſtrength and powers of the workman, ſo that this laborious claſs of men have ſcarcely any labour to diſpoſe of, nor can the ſtate demand it from them, without ruining them. If we, alſo, conſider the diſproportion of reſiſtance, the patience of the poor, and the inclination which every miniſter feels to prefer ready means to uſeful means, we may ſoon diſcover how eaſily wars bring down deſtruction on ſtates which they ought only not to have weakened.

Let us, now, examine how the ſums borrowed leſſen in a ſmall degree this inconvenience: I will ſuppoſe that a ſtate may have occaſion for a quantity of labour repreſented by the ſum of three hundred millions of livres, making, at ten-pence halfpenny *per* livre, thirteen millions, one hundred and twenty-five thouſand pounds, ſterling: we have juſt obſerved that ſuch a ſum cannot be levied ſolely from the rich, neither can the labour which it repreſents be exacted entirely from the agents of luxury, without attacking property, and without cauſing the greateſt convulſions, by ſudden alterations in the means of ſubſiſting: endeavours are· therefore

fore uſed to aſſuage every criſis, by a momentary impoſition of a moderate labour, and by propoſing to borrow a more conſiderable labour, according to arrangements entered into by little and little, and in conſequence of mutual advantages. Every ſum borrowed repreſents an expence. If a ſtate hath borrowed three hundred millions of livres, or, thirteen millions, one hundred and twenty-five thouſand pounds, ſterling, it hath expended three hundred millions of livres, or, thirteen millions, one hundred and twenty-five thouſand pounds, ſterling, in labour; and if it hath ſo well payed its agents, that the other claſſes may have flowed back, as it were, upon that claſs, the diſorder cannot have been very great. The ſame quantity of labour hath diſtributed the ſame quantity of ſubſiſtance; all have lived. The evil then is much leſs conſiderable, than if all the labour neceſſary to the ſupport of war had been rigorouſly exacted, and unequally divided. Now, let us ſuppoſe that, the war having been prolonged, the government felt themſelves obliged to multiply their reſources; and that, at length, the peace was not concluded, until they had borrowed a thouſand millions of

livres, or, forty-three millions, ſeven hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, ſterling. We muſt eſtimate what, after this, may be the ſtate of the nation: for it is then loaden with an arrear of fifty millions of livres, or, two millions, one hundred and eight-ſeven thouſand, five hundred pounds, ſterling; and it muſt, conſequently, be requiſite to augment the annual contribution by fifty millions of livres, or, two millions, one hundred and eighty-ſeven thouſand, five hundred pounds, ſterling. But if every impoſition ought to repreſent a labour furniſhed by particulars to the ſtate, I now aſk if the quantity of this labour be augmented; if, in fact, this contribution be not ideal; and if, when the government receives with one hand, and returns with the other hand, the additional burden is more real than it is at Amſterdam, when the bank is perpetually ſhifting from payments to receipts, and from receipts to payments. But it will be ſaid to me, Were the ſtate to take a tenth part of the revenue of proprietors, would not this tenth part repreſent the labour which ſuch proprietors might have payed for with a certain quantity of ſubſiſtance, of which their mercenaries find them-

themſelves deprived in their turn? I anſwer, that in this hypotheſis there is no real diminution, but only a removal of the net revenue; that, were a thouſand proprietors to have an hundred millions of livres, or, four millions, three hundred and ſeventy-five thouſand pounds, ſterling, of net revenue, bating a tenth part, a thouſand other proprietors in poſſeſſion alſo of contracts, muſt have an hundred millions of net revenue, with the addition of a tenth part; that theſe will command more labour than they could have done, if they had not poſſeſſed effects in paper; in like manner as the others muſt command leſs labour than they could have done, if they had not been obliged to pay a tenth part; in ſhort, that, according to this calculation, the quantity of labour is always the ſame, becauſe the wants of the ſtate do not make a greater demand on it, than before; and this is the real reaſon why well-governed nations ſtill remain in the moſt flouriſhing ſtate, although it be at the end of a long and expenſive war. It is on this account, that the Engliſh are ſtill rich and powerful, and continue to expend, or to conſume, as much as before the war.

Before we extend the application of theſe principles any farther, we cannot deny that there are circumſtances which render them liable ſo ſome reſtrictions. We have hitherto ſuppoſed the ſtate to have borrowed only from ſubjects. But although the greateſt part of riches is to be found amongſt thoſe nations who are accuſtomed to recur to ſuch expedients, it muſt be confeſſed, that as ſoon as they open a ſcheme for borrowing of foreign ſtates, they obtain from them conſiderable loans. It is ſtill worſe if theſe rich and powerful nations are not all engaged in war at the ſame time. For the nation which may have maintained a neutrality will certainly poſſeſs much riches, without having any channel open for their employment. It will, therefore, throw large ſums into the funds of belligerent nations.*(t)* Now, as we have before allowed that all current ſpecies is as credit for the labour of another, and as all expence repreſents labour, it is not to be doubted, that money exported yearly into foreign ſtates, in order to pay off theſe arrears,

(t) This is the caſe with the Dutch, who poſſeſs at preſent a great ſhare of the moſt profitable French funds, and particularly of the life-annuities.

rears, repreſents an annual labour of the nation which borrows, a labour, on the part of this nation, barren and tributary.

An example may make the caſe ſtill plainer. Hamburgh is at war with Dantzick: Hamburgh hath ſixty thouſand inhabitants, of whom ſome live at their eaſe, whilſt the others ſeek their ſubſiſtance by labour. The council of this republic might direct that the claſs of citizens labouring in the production of abſolutely neceſſary articles, ſhould be the only claſs ſuffered to continue at work; that all the other workmen, artiſans, &c. &c. who are but the agents either of pleaſure, or of luxury, ſhould be employed in the ſervice of the army; but that, in order to enable them to ſubſiſt, all the ſuperfluities of the rich, that is, all which they would have expended in gratifying their taſte, and their amuſements, ſhould be taken off; and this, to be more explicit, might go under the denomination of a general tax on *eaſe*. But what impediments oppoſe ſuch a reſolution! union ſcarcely reigns in republics but when dangers are preſſing. The form of the government, the very magiſtrates are always beſet with enemies. To what perils will the republic be

be expoſed, if all fortunes ſhould be thus overthrown, and all properties thus attacked! and then, this luxury, this eaſe encouraged certain claſſes of artiſans neceſſary to the proſperity of this little ſtate. At once, to ſuſpend their occupations, and to deprive them of their cuſtomary profits, muſt be to break the bonds which unite them to their native country. On the other hand, were the burden to be divided amongſt all the ſubjects, a general impoſition would indeed cauſe leſs murmuring, and, beſides, the complaints of the feeble are not diſturbing; but theſe laſt claſſes taxed have neither labour, nor ſubſiſtance to diſpoſe of; and whilſt money is demanded from them, they are compelled to make a ſaving either from their labour, or from their ſubſiſtance. But the enemy approaches; time preſſes! an expedient is contrived. The republic is convinced that no more than a ſixth part can be ſpared from the general labour, and this ſixth part may repreſent the pay of ten thouſand ſoldiers: but it muſt be trebled at leaſt. . . . . Well then! the ſum which may be neceſſary for the maintenance of the reſt ſhall be borrowed from the city of Bremen, and whether the loan be money,

money, which repreſents ſubſiſtance, or ſubſiſtance which repreſents labour, the ſubſidies not having changed their nature, the magiſtrates of Hamburgh will reaſon thus: *ſhould we conclude a peace, after the campaign, we muſt ſtill preſerve, during three years, the ſtate of reſtraint into which we have this year thrown ourſelves. We ſhall ſtill continue, during two years, to ſpare the ſixth part of the public labour, or the pay of ten thouſand men, in order to diſcharge the debt due to our neighbours. We ſhall feel this load longer; yet it will be leſs heavy; it will be borne without a murmur: we ſhall have ſaved the ſtate, the government, and, what is ſtill more intereſting, ourſelves.(u)*

I ſhall not mention the advantages which the lender is permitted to make, advantages which ſomewhat augment, or prolong the inconveniencies of the debtor; but theſe advantages are compenſated by thoſe which the debtor hath been enabled to reap from war. Here, the reader muſt have foreſtalled me: but, if the rich particulars of the town, obſerving that their fortune hath been ſpared, and

(u) A ſomewhat ſimilar propoſition was made to the Athenians by Xenophon. See the *diſcourſe on the improvement of the public revenues.*

and that the ſtate allows a conſiderable advantage to thoſe from whom it borrows the ſupplies, determine from intereſt, to purſue meaſures, to which they ought to have been impelled by a ſpirit of patriotiſm; if they become œconomiſts of their very enjoyments, that is, of the labour which they had in pay, in order to lend, themſelves, this labour to the government; if the ſums which repreſent this labour be equal to half of thoſe ſums which we ſuppoſe the city of Bremen to have furniſhed, Hamburgh is no longer indebted to the ſtranger for more than the labour of ten thouſand men. In ſhort, if the citizens of Hamburgh furniſh four-fifths of the ſum borrowed, the ſtate no longer remains indebted for more than the labour of four thouſand men. As to the intereſt, and reimburſements, which it owes to its own ſubjects, they are manifeſtly an ideal charge; it muſt procure the value of it, by ſome means or other. Now, it appears that the ſtate retakes it in ſome meaſure from thoſe very individuals who receive it; I ſay, in ſome meaſure, becauſe the individuals living at their eaſe have not lent any funds; but this little inequality is of much leſs conſequence

to

to the public than the welfare of the people, who can be no loſers, whenſoever neither their labour is augmented, nor their ſubſiſtance diminiſhed. What would be the caſe, were the richeſt citizens of Hamburgh to poſſeſs within their coffers, a certain quantity of ready money, that is to ſay, credit for the labour of ſtrangers?(x) then theſe citizens by carrying their money to the government would ſupply it with means for the ſupport of the war, without taking any thing from the labour of the people; whether this ſum was employed in raiſing ſoldiers, or in purchaſing arms, ſubſiſtance, &c. Indeed the ſtate will always have incurred expences, but it will have made a good bargain; and if, when-

(x) I ſhall, here, repeat that the reader muſt not be ſurpriſed ſhould I uſe the word, *labour*, in preference to either the word, commodities, or the word, money. It is labour alone which ſets a price on commodities. The rain-water, and the river-water are not ſold, becauſe they do not repreſent any labour. Thus, every thing ſaleable repreſents labour, and hath no value except the value of the labour which it hath exacted. It is unneceſſary to obſerve that where mention may be made of the labour of a thouſand men, the labour of ten thouſand men, it is the annual labour of a thouſand men, or of ten thouſand men, which muſt be underſtood.

whenſoever the republic may have aſſeſſed itſelf in order to pay an indemnification to the rich, that is to ſay, the intereſt of their money, theſe, by receiving it in little ſums, and ſucceſſively, were to feel a greater inclination to expend it, the ſtate would have carried on the war, without having been in fact at any coſt. It is true, that the ſtate would alſo have one reſource the leſs; but what may not be reproduced by a long peace, a flouriſhing commerce, and a good adminiſtration?

I dwell the longer on theſe reflections, becauſe it doth not appear to me, that this point hath ever been ſufficiently diſcuſſed, or that the effects of the debt have not always been confounded with the effects of the expence. Mr. Hume,*(y)* the philoſoper ſo inacceſſible to every prejudice, the author to whom I pay with ſo much pleaſure a tribute of eſteem, and friendſhip, hath, in my opinion, too ſeverely condemned the arguments uſed to ſatisfy the people of England, when Davenant, and Pulteney attacked the government of the *Whigs*. Perhaps a natural partiality to the *Tories*,

(y) Eſſay on public credit.

Tories, that kind of attachment which ſometimes betrays the ſceptical philoſopher, by diſcovering his ſecret opinion, may have altered, for a moment, the exactneſs of his balance. He is pleaſed to reduce matters to an abſurdity, by ſuppoſing that there is no end to borrowing, and that the ſtate owes all the revenue of particulars: but I muſt obſerve that England, having more than four hundred millions of livres, French, or, ſeventeen millions and a half, ſterling, at tenpence halfpenny *per* livre, of net revenue,(z) and not having above one hundred and twenty millions of livres, French, or five millions and a quarter, ſterling, at ten-pence halfpenny *per* livre, to pay yearly as intereſt on

(z) Several readers have imagined that the Chevalier meant the public revenue; but it is the total amount of the *net* revenue of the lands, rated according to the rents, to which he alludes. The total amount of our public debt ſtanding out the fifth of January, 1772, (the year in which the French work was publiſhed, although the manuſcript was ſent to Holland, ſeveral months before the cloſe of 1771) was 127,497,619*l.* 8*s.* 2*d.* $\frac{1}{4}$, and the annual intereſt, or other charges payable for the ſame, amounted to 4,526,392*l.* 8*s.* 8*d.* The national debt is, now, one hundred and forty millions, and the annual intereſt, at the rate of three and an half *per cent.* is five millions. K.

on its debts, before ſuch a circumſtance could happen, this country muſt have been engaged in ſupporting three times as many wars as it hath carried on ſince 1688. I muſt alſo aſk againſt what nations theſe wars are to be waged? I muſt allow that it would prove a very perplexing ſituation, were they to be carried on againſt thoſe ſtates which are not either in debt, or obliged to borrow. But were the attack to be made on France, and on Holland, I ſhould imagine that matters would reſt, at leaſt, on an even footing, and I ſhould be apt to compare theſe powers to players who, with one leg tied up, engage at tennis; the match would be leſs lively, but always equal. Were the real embarraſſments felt by the powers involved in debt to be objected to me, and at the ſame time, were it not to be added that theſe embaraſſments are, in a great meaſure, owing to the critical ſituation in which they who govern find themſelves relatively to thoſe who are governed, I ſhould only anſwer, that every nation which carries on the war with great armies, great fleets, and to ſay all in one word, at a great expence, muſt ſoon be ruined, unleſs it were to make itſelf amends for its

its loſſes by pillage. Now, pillage hath not taken place ſince every ſubdued country began to ſubmit by capitulation, and ſince the conquerors have forborne from the practice of carrying away the cattle, and reducing the conquered people to captivity.

Far from attributing the critical ſituation of ſeveral powers to the debts which they have contracted, I ſhall conſider as a problem the flouriſhing ſtate in which they ſtill find themſelves, after thoſe obſtinate, or ridiculous wars, which they have for a long time paſt ſupported. But why ſhould we impute that to the debt, which may be placed to the account of expences? Such a young prodigal is not ruined for having borrowed a hundred thouſand crowns, but for having ſquandered them away. England hath expended in eighty years three thouſand millions of livres, French, or, eighteen millions and three quarters, ſterling, at ten-pence halfpenny *per* livre, beyond its revenues; theſe three thouſand millions of livres, or, eighteen millions and three quarters, ſterling, at ten-pence halfpenny *per* livre, repreſent a labour which might have been employed more uſefully in ploughing up, and cultivating numbers of

heaths, or in the encouragement of agriculture, in Scotland, and in Ireland. I muſt confeſs that I ſhould find it difficult to point out other objects which, on account of the war, have been neglected. For this happy country every where preſents to us the image of proſperity. Neither population, nor agriculture, nor manufactures, nor great roads, nor magnificent eſtabliſhments, nor, in ſhort, any thing ſeem to be wanting in England. And this is a terrible argument in the hands of the ſceptics in politics. But it muſt be obſerved, firſt, that the ſituation of this country is, in every point, extremely favorable; ſecondly, that the excellence of its government, and the wiſdom of its adminiſtration muſt have triumphed over many obſtacles; for, ſuch are our errors in politics, ſuch are the conſequences of a bad moral ſyſtem, and of a bad legiſlation, that all the nations of the world, if we except the Chineſe, are infinitely below that degree of proſperity, to which they might attain; thirdly, that this proſperity of our neighbours is not to be conſidered as the lot of all the Britiſh empire, but of England only, a great part of Scotland being ſtill either uncultivated,

vated, or a deſart; and the Iriſh having ſcarcely been hitherto more than the Ilotæ of the Engliſh. I know that this is a bad policy which founds riches on excluſion, and which pretends to ſupport one people, at the expence of another people; but it may offer ſome illuſory, and momentary advantages. In ſhort, ſince we muſt trace the errors which the Engliſh have committed, and the conſequences of their exceſſive expences, I ſhould imagine that we might find them in Scotland, and in Ireland. Had the taxes been leſs heavy, there could have been no neceſſity for laying a reſtraint on the importation of the Iriſh proviſions, in order to keep up the rents in England; and if commerce had been leſs loaden by the duties of the cuſtoms, and the taxes on conſumptions, there could have been no reaſon for dreading a competitor in this ſiſter kingdom. More attention might likewiſe have been payed to Scotland, and riches, equally diffuſed throughout the three kingdoms, muſt have increaſed commerce at Cork, as at London; at Edingburgh as at Cork. . . . . But what, if during the laſt war, Ireland hath proſpered; if her agriculture, her trade, and her population have

been augmented? . . . . . Then it muſt be anſwered, that maritime expeditions have enriched this country, which ſupplies veſſels with their lading, and ſtores, and encourages the trade of America. But what, if England hath not ſuffered by this local preference? if . . . . . Yet let us haſten back to our firſt principles, for we have embarked in rather an unpleaſing diſcuſſion, and repeat that a good adminiſtration ſoon repairs misfortunes, and covers many inconveniencies.

Let us obviate another objection which may ſtill be drawn from theſe facts ſo troubleſome to ſyſtematical reaſoners, and to metaphyſical politicians. A great prince, an hero crowned, entered, at the very beginning of his reign, on an œconomy entirely eſtabliſhed, and found a conſiderable ſaving which he hath ſince augmented; his numerous victories have never been purchaſed by exorbitant impoſitions; he hath not borrowed; it is even affirmed that he hath not diſſipated, in the laſt war, all the money which he had in reſerve; peace having been re-eſtabliſhed, he re-eſtabliſhed alſo œconomy in his expences; he employed himſelf in replacing thoſe ſums which he had taken from his ſaving: he completed

pleted his treaſure; and yet his ſubjects are fallen into diſtreſs. The money hath diſappeared; commerce hath languiſhed; the circulation hath ſtopped, and peace hath proved more diſaſtrous than war. Undoubtedly, the powerful genius who preſides over this ſtate, ſtands in need only of his own reſources, to remedy theſe temporary inconveniencies; but may we not avail ourſelves of this occaſion, as an apology for not adopting the opinion of Mr. Hume, who ſeems to plead in favour of the eſtabliſhment of a public treaſure? we preſume, that there are no ſums to be diſpoſed of by the ſtate, which would not augment its riches, were they uſefully expended. A canal, a ſea-port, a great road, the cultivation of a barren waſte are worth an hundred times more than ten millions locked up in coffers. And beſides, experience convinces us that treaſures amaſſed by an œconomical adminiſtration are ſoon diſſipated by a prodigal adminiſtration. Charles the fifth poſſeſſed a conſiderable treaſure. It became the prey of the duke of Anjou. Henry the fourth amaſſed more than twenty millions of livres, French, or eight hundred and ſeventy-five thouſand pounds, ſterling,

at ten-pence halfpenny *per* livre, which would now make above fifty millions of livres, French, or two millions, one hundred and eighty-ſeven thouſand, five hundred pounds, Engliſh, at ten-pence halfpenny *per* livre. They ſerved only to enrich Italians, and ſome avaricious, and factious lords.

Now, if treaſures were not advantageous to nations, one of theſe two circumſtances muſt happen; either that theſe nations carry on the war, by the augmentation of taxes; or that, ſuch taxes becoming too burdenſome, the nations find themſelves obliged to borrow. But, in the firſt inſtance, war is not very ruinous; and in the ſecond inſtance, the real neceſſities, and the importance of the war itſelf muſt be conſulted. Thus, the reſult of all theſe reflections is, that the wars which are carried on at a moderate expence, are much leſs diſtreſsful to the people, than thoſe wars, the charges of which exceed their means; and this leads us to obſerve, that war is more deſtructive when the party is beaten, or when the match is unequal; all theſe are circumſtances which have nothing in common with the queſtion concerning the national debt, and borrowing.

Now,

Now, that we have explained the nature of the national debt, and its influence on the happineſs of the people, it is time to inform the reader, that we have placed things in their moſt favorable point of view. We preſume, indeed, that we have ſhewn that the inconveniencies ariſing from borrowing are the ſame as the inconveniencies ariſing from expence; but we muſt not deny that the neceſſity of following, without interruption, the chain of our ideas hath occaſioned us to omit ſome important particulars. For inſtance, we have ſuppoſed that the government being under a neceſſity of returning annually to different individuals what it might have raiſed to pay off the arrears of the debt, the ſum of the revenues had not changed, and that, by a parity of reaſoning, the ſum of expences, as well as the ſum of labour had always remained the ſame: we do not deny this aſſertion; but it muſt be conſidered that the removal of revenues, and of expences is liable to ſeveral inconveniencies. Firſt, it ſuppoſes that there are recoveries, and payments which always require ſome coſt, whether it be neceſſary to raiſe contributions, or to fill public coffers, guard them, and occa-

ſionally open them. Now, all theſe coſts are an expence which repreſents a labour; and a barren labour, ſince it doth not produce either ſubſiſtance, or enjoyment. Secondly, even admitting that theſe expences, being impoſed on a territorial revenue, and, in particular, on the net revenue of proprietors, exact but little coſt in the gathering of them, and are of no detriment to agriculture, and to commerce; ſtill one great inconvenience muſt always remain: and this is the ſeparation of the revenue, and the landed property.

I ſuppoſe contracts, and the public funds to be equally divided amongſt all the proprietors, ſo that whoſoever may have annually payed a thouſand livres, or, forty-three pounds, fifteen ſhillings, Engliſh, at ten-pence halfpenny *per* livre, more for the arrears of the debt, would be poſſeſſed of a contract of the ſame yearly value. From this, one evil muſt always reſult, becauſe every diminution of the product of a property tends to diminiſh, in its turn, the affection of the proprietor, and to remove expenſive, but uſeful undertakings, ſuch as buildings, the cultivation of barren tracts, &c. On the other hand, it frequently happens

pens that an individual naturally becomes attached to the ſource of his revenues; that he abandons the country for the capital, and willingly gives the preference to an idle, and uſeleſs life. The inequality in the diviſion of the public effects redoubles all theſe inconveniencies; for whilſt a proprietor of twenty thouſand livres, French, or eight hundred and ſeventy-five pounds, ſterling, at ten-pence halfpenny *per* livre, landed income, poſſeſſes likewiſe as far as fifty thouſand livres, French, or, two thouſand, one hundred, and eighty-ſeven pounds, ten ſhillings, ſterling, at ten-pence halfpenny *per* livre, of revenue, in contracts; a proprietor who hath only ten thouſand livres, French, or, four hundred and thirty-ſeven pounds, ten ſhillings, ſterling, at ten-pence halfpenny *per* livre, landed income alſo, pays the fifth of his revenue, and yet poſſeſſes no paper. I ſhall not dwell on the facility of placing a capital in the public funds, and thus diverting the money from commerce, and removing it from all means of being uſefully employed: for they who have ſo often repeated this common-place obſervation, ſeem to have forgotten that when one perſon purchaſes a contract, another

another perſon ſells a contract, and that if the purchaſer doth not employ his money in commerce, the ſeller hath perhaps alienated his effects only to make this uſe of them. Were the ſtate to open a new ſcheme for borrowing, the caſe would be different: but then this inconvenience is the conſequence of the actual expence of the government, and not of the debt formerly contracted. What I dare affirm, is, that the people, or rather the proprietors who, in modern ſocieties, ought alone to repreſent the nation, cannot avoid weakening themſelves conſiderably, whenſoever they may have bartered away their landed properties for uncertain poſſeſſions; always within the hands of the government, whether this government bear the name of a *Monarchy*, or of an *Ariſtocracy*, they muſt, ſooner, or later, fall into a ſtate of dependance. I muſt farther obſerve that if, unfortunately, the public effects ſhould be ſo multiplied, that to underſtand their value, to follow their changes, and to be one's ſelf maſter of theſe variations, be grown ſo obſcure and difficult an art, a kind of barren commerce will be eſtabliſhed,

called

called *Agio*;(a) a commerce which never ſucceeds but at the expence of proprietors, conſtantly the dupes of monied men; but I muſt, likewiſe, obſerve that all theſe new inconveniencies ought rather to be imputed to the fault of the government, than to the debt in itſelf; and it may be added, that were we to trace them to their ſource, we ſhould attribute them much leſs to the ignorance, than to the weakneſs of miniſters, ſo that the laſt analyſis would produce, inſtead of the vices inſeparable from borrowing, thoſe which ſpring from wars undertaken againſt the inclination of the people, or which are the neceſſary conſequences of all prevarication in the exerciſe of the public authority.

Drawn into theſe long diſcuſſions, which are, perhaps, too dry, and tireſome to the greater part of our readers, we muſt not forget

(a) *Agio*, a term chiefly uſed in Holland, and at Venice, ſignifies the difference between the value of bank ſtock, and the current coin. In Holland, the *Agio* is generally three, or four *per cent.* At Rome, it is from fifteen to twenty-five *per cent.* At Venice, it is fixed at twenty *per cent.* *Agio* alſo ſignifies the profit ariſing from diſcounting notes, bills of exchange, &c. K.

forget that our principal object is to examine what is the influence of the public debt, on the happineſs of the people. We have endeavoured to leſſen that fearful opinion generally formed of it: this is a new method of eſtimating it. If the debt be eſſentially an evil, as a debt, and not only as repreſenting an expence, the firſt care of every government ſhould be to reimburſe it, as ſoon as poſſible. Let us endeavour then to aſcertain whether ſuch an operation be always the moſt advantageous, and that we may the ſooner effect this, let us imagine that a ſtate hath borrowed precedently a ſum equal to the labour of an hundred thouſand men, for the arrears of which it returns annually the labour of five thouſand men: let us alſo ſuppoſe that a wiſe œconomy, either in the maintenance of the troops, or in the expences of the court, permits this ſtate to ſave annually a ſum repreſenting the labour of ten thouſand individuals. What uſe would it make of this ſaving? would it employ it in leſſening the general burden of the people? in taking off annually from the taxes a ſum correſponding with this ſaving? or would it apply it to the progreſſive reimburſement of the

the public debt? on the one hand, the debt, diminiſhing, by little and little, would end by being entirely extinguiſhed; and the people would at length perceive themſelves delivered from every contribution which they furniſhed towards diſcharging the arrears of this debt. On the other hand, it may happen that the taxes being either exceſſive, or badly laid on, the nation might feel a more preſſing neceſſity for an immediate relief: it may alſo happen that the coſts of certain impoſitions being much too conſiderable, the annihilation of theſe impoſitions would prove the moſt requiſite operation; and this reduces the problem to two queſtions. *Are the people in need of an immediate alleviation? Doth it coſt the government more to receive, than to pay.*

Firſt queſtion. *Are the people in need of an immediate alleviation?* this is an important conſideration; for, by ſuppoſing that this ſtate, which owes a capital equal to the ſum which repreſents the labour of an hundred thouſand men, could annually reimburſe the tenth part of this ſum, it is evident that, in the firſt year, it alleviates the public burden only from the labour of five hundred perſons;

ſons; and in the following year, only from the labour of five hundred and twenty-five perſons; and ſo on. But if the contribution be too violent for the people, if it employ more of their time and powers than they could conveniently diſpoſe of, if it withdraw them from labours of improvement; if it deprive them of that repoſe which is neceſſary for them, &c. &c. would it not be better to remit annually a ſum equal to the labour of ten thouſand men, than to retrench only the twentieth part, and to employ the reſt in reimburſing the public debts? it will be anſwered, that the ſums reimburſed ceaſing to repreſent a barren labour, like that which adminiſters to the maintenance of armies, or to the pomp of courts, they ſoon paſs from the proprietors of funds to the laborious claſſes, who may augment the price of their labour, or take off ſome hours from their day's work: but are theſe returns ſufficiently quick, and immediate, particularly when the vehicles of them ought to be the current ſpecies, or paper, a kind of money which promotes ſo many ſpeculations, and ſuch various projects? and doth it not follow from theſe reflections, that if the people be overloaden,

loaden, it muſt be better to remit the impoſitions, than to reimburſe the debt?

Second queſtion. *Doth it coſt the ſtate more to receive, than to pay?* this is an extremely intereſting enquiry. For, if in order to reimburſe annually a ſum equal to the labour of ten thouſand men, the government ſhould be obliged to exact from the people, a ſum equal to the labour of twelve thouſand men, they will have made a very bad bargain; in fact, to put matters on an even footing, it would be requiſite that the payment of their creditors ſhould exact an over-aſſeſſment nearly equal: I ſay, *nearly equal*, becauſe regard muſt be had to the diſcharge of the intereſt. But let us deſcend into a plainer road, and, for a moment, leave our abſtracted formularies, to produce an example taken from our own country. Many perſons believe that the cuſtoms coſt more than twenty *per cent.* collecting. They may bring in about fifteen millions of livres, French, or, ſix hundred and fifty-ſix thouſand, two hundred and fifty pounds, ſterling, at ten-pence halfpenny *per* livre. I aſk, now, if, when in 1764 a ſinking fund for twenty millions of livres, French, or, eight hundred and ſeventy-five thouſand pounds,

pounds, ſterling, at ten-pence halfpenny *per* livre, was eſtabliſhed, it would not have been more profitable to have aboliſhed the duties of the cuſtoms, or to ſpeak more properly, to have changed them into a ſimple territorial impoſt, which ſtill producing a certain revenue, might have facilitated the converſion of the *Gabelle*, or duty upon ſalt, into a tax engrafted by a pound rate, on the land-tax or twentieth penny. I know the difficulty of reaſoning from this illuſory reimburſement, which exacted other reſources; but might not theſe reſources have ariſen more eaſily from an improvement of the condition of the country, than from only paying the creditors with bills upon another, a payment more worthy of a diſcounter, than of a miniſter. To theſe different conſiderations, I ſhall alſo add, that even ſuppoſing theſe impoſitions to be wiſely laid on, and collected with œconomy, it is requiſite that the government ſhould not think of reimburſements, until it had been fully known that no occaſion more preſſing for the employment of money ſtood in the way. Although France had aboliſhed the duties on the cuſtoms, and the *Gabelle*, I ſhould ſtill conſider canals of com-

communication between the *Somme*, and the *Eſcaut*, between the *Moſelle*, the *Meuſe*, and the *Marne*, between the *Saone*, and the *Seine*, as more uſeful undertakings, than a reimburſement of ſixty millions. As much may be advanced in favour of the introduction, and regular repair of great roads, the conſtruction of bridges, the draining of fens, the cultivation of waſtes, &c. Neither muſt it be forgotten, that the reimburſement of debts inſpires all governments with an inclination for war; whereas uſeful expences render peace advantageous, without ſhortening its duration.

After having conſidered this ſubject, in ſo many different points of view, every impartial reader muſt agree with us, that, excepting ſome inconveniencies which we have already mentioned, the national debt is not ſo great an evil as hath been imagined: that it is only a real evil, in as much as it repreſents exceſſive expences; in ſhort, that its reimburſement is not abſolutely neceſſary, nor even the moſt important object of a good adminiſtration. Perhaps the reader may not regret that he hath favoured us with his attention, ſhould he feel a conviction that

the misfortunes of his fellow-citizens, nay, more, the misfortunes of his kind, (for who ſhall hold humanity within the limits of empires?) are not proportional to thoſe enormous debts, the maſs of which appears, at the firſt glance, ſo overwhelming. The profeſſed panegyriſts of kings are juſtly ſunk into contempt, but the comforter of the people deſerves to be cheriſhed, and eſteemed; eſpecially if, whilſt he encourages them to hope, he doth not conceal from them their dangers; if he makes no attempts to inſpire them with a falſe ſecurity; and if whenſoever he would mitigate the opinion which they may have formed of their misfortunes, he takes care to prove to them, that they may ſtill attain to a much better ſituation. Such a perſuaſion, ſuch a diſpoſition of minds ſeems, in my opinion, the moſt favorable to every kind of progreſs. It is equally removed from that moroſe diſcontent which deſpairs of every thing, and from that vain confidence which doubts nothing. Let us leave thoſe who are called to the painful cares of government, to calculate all the moral circumſtances which ought to modify general principles; but ſince, during our leiſure, we have

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preſumed that it was in our power to unfold theſe principles, let us, at leaſt, endeavour to complete our full career, by ſhewing their conſequences; and whether our readers be inclined to refute, or to commend us, let us ſave our cenſurers, and our approvers from the toil of ſearching after the reſult of our opinions.

It is not unuſefully that we have eſtimated, as public labour, all the contributions of the people, and all the expences of the government. The reſult is, that in the actual form of ſocieties, all labour repreſents ſubſiſtance for one part of the citizens, and enjoyments for the other part; that every diſpoſition which attacks this commerce, makes a direct attack on the welfare of nations; that all public expence is abſolutely in this predicament, and that, of courſe, it ought always to be conſidered as a *minimum*, that is, it ought always to be the ſmalleſt expence poſſible. We have already obſerved, that ſecurity and preſervation were the natural limits of this œconomy. It is therefore the buſineſs of thoſe who govern, rightly to underſtand theſe limits, and to take all their precautions, leſt, at any time, they ſhould

either not reach them, or pass beyond them. The number of soldiers, and of fortresses, is of all expences, that which makes the deepest impression on the inhabitants of capitals. And yet were they to reflect that the different powers can scarcely disarm, but in concert, and to call up to their remembrance, the terrible consequences which have sometimes followed the loss of a battle, or the reduction of a town, they would be more moderate in their censures, nor desire that the father of a family, obliged to lessen the number of his household, should begin by sending away his porter. These errors, so common amongst us, can only arise from the custom which we have adopted of making a distinction between the Sovereign, and the State. It is the Sovereign who pays the troops; it is, therefore, concluded that this expence comes from him; and it is this which must be first attacked. But I would ask whether forty thousand monks are less chargeable, or more serviceable to the state than forty thousand soldiers.*(b)*

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(b) It is with pleasure, that we find ourselves enabled to assure the reader, that there are but forty thousand monks in France; and these are exactly forty thousand too many.

Whatſoever the arrangements may be, it muſt be requiſite for the maintenance of the monks, and the ſoldiers, either that the claſſes of cultivators, and workmen augment their labour, or that there be a diminution of enjoyments, in the claſs which furniſhes ſubſiſtance. Without entering into any theological diſcuſſions, it may be affirmed, that there are countries, in which the Clergy are reduced to Biſhops, to Curates, and to Vicars. There are, even, countries who have no eccleſiaſtics, excepting Paſtors. The *dogmata* of theſe people may be erroneous, yet it is not, on this account, leſs true that they have as lively a faith, and are more ſtrictly moral, than ſome nations overwhelmed with prieſts and monks. If, within ſome of theſe nations, the number of theſe uſeleſs men ſhould ſtill amount to forty thouſand perſons, I aſſert that the reform of forty thouſand monks, or the reform of forty thouſand ſoldiers would equally relieve the people, relatively to contributions, that is, to thoſe ſavings which muſt have been made from their enjoyments, or their ſubſiſtance. I now leave others to decide which claſs is the moſt uſeful claſs: but I think that I

may, at all hazards, inſure the military claſs.

I ſhall not, here, repeat what hath been ſo often obſerved concerning the celibacy of the eccleſiaſtics, and, particularly, of the monks. I write for inſtructed readers, for readers more inſtructed than myſelf. I offer my ideas to the greateſt part of theſe readers, as I ſhould offer them, in a converſation with men of underſtanding; and I only avail myſelf of the means which printing affords, in order to extend a commerce which hath always been the happineſs of my life: in this commerce, each individual ſhould only offer ſuch of his ideas as ought to be new to others: and ſuch, in my opinion, is the following idea. I think, that of all the religious orders, ſuch as have been leſs burdenſome to the ſtate, are thoſe againſt which the greateſt clamours have ariſen; and theſe orders are the richeſt of all. The Benedictines, the monks of Premontré, and the Bernardines are much leſs numerous than the Franciſcans, and all the Mendicants. They may be conſidered as a ſociety of proprietors, who uſing moderately their net revenue, throw back a part of it in advance, and towards improvement. A celebrated

author

author hath already favoured us with an eulogy of the culture of the monks, but our inductions greatly differ, becauſe he hath conſidered as a juſtification of all the monks, what was but an excuſe for ſome of them. Mr. Hume(*c*) hath alſo *queſtioned whether theſe popiſh inſtitutions be ſo deſtructive to the populouſneſs of a ſtate, as is commonly imagined.* He ſuppoſes that, *were the land, which belongs to a convent, beſtowed on a nobleman, he would ſpend its revenues on dogs, horſes, grooms, footmen, cooks, and houſe-maids; and his family would not furniſh many more citizens than the convent.* But, who would compare the expence and magnificence diſplayed at a nobleman's ſeat, with the domeſtic eſtabliſhment of a convent? beſides, it is much more by their number, than by their riches, that the monks prove detrimental to ſociety. We know, and we not a little deſpiſe thoſe Mendicants, whoſe only reſource is their impudence, and whoſe only capital is ſuperſtition: but we have no idea of the immenſe contributions which they levy in the country.

(*c*) See *Eſſay on the populouſneſs of ancient nations*, 8vo. v. 2. p. 192.

Were a ſovereign, perplexed by a difficulty in paying his troops, to ſend thirty thouſand men into the different villages, and give orders to their commanders to ſee them maintained by the people, but at the eaſieſt rate that poſſibly could be deviſed; what clamours would be levelled at this arrangement! an arrangement confeſſedly vicious, yet much leſs ſo than the permiſſion with which the monks are indulged to abuſe the public credulity. It is a pernicious toleration which, indeed, furniſhes them with no coactive force, but leaves them in poſſeſſion of ſuch formidable arms, wherewith to attack the ſimple, and ignorant, as are equivalent to an order to oppreſs the weak, and to reſpect the ſtrong.

Let us, now, turn back and examine whether all the merit of theſe rich abbeys be not confined to the ſingle circumſtance of being leſs pernicious to the ſtate, than that ſwarm of Mendicants, with which it is infected. It hath been obſerved that the monks are better proprietors than the gentlemen: but why are the gentlemen poor? becauſe the Clergy, and the monks have gotten poſſeſſion of all their riches. It may as well be ſaid,

ſaid, that the receivers of the revenues are more uſeful to the ſtate, than the little tenants; for their lands are certainly better cultivated. Much noiſe hath been made concerning that portion of their revenues, which the religious orders employ in the improvement of their eſtates. But hath any perſon exactly calculated whether all theſe improvements have been the fruit of their own ſavings? hath any account been kept of all thoſe oblations, of all thoſe legacies in ready caſh, which pillaged the patrimony of individuals, and thus leſſened their properties, in order to ſupply theſe abbeys with money wherewith to raiſe mulberry trees, to dig moats, and to extend their plantations? I am convinced that if my anceſtors had diſtributed pardons, and received offerings, my family lands would have been as well cultivated, as the lands of any abbey.

This next objection ſeems to be unanſwerable. Shall we oppoſe abuſes, to abuſes? then, let us draw a parallel between the expences of ſome particular ſquanderers, and the immenſe capitals which theſe abbeys have employed in buildings, and which they ſtill lay out in keeping up theſe houſes. What

farms

farms might formerly have been raiſed with thoſe ſums which have been expended, and ſtill are expended, on the monaſteries of Citeaux, of Clervaux, of Premontré, of Saint Bertin, of Saint Eloy, of Saint Denis, &c. We are aſtoniſhed at the poverty which our anceſtors have tranſmitted to us. Slaves more abject than the Egyptians, we have employed our labour in conſtructing pyramids, whilſt the Nile did not fertilize our lands: we have put together mean huts; we have ſlept under the thatch, whilſt we have elevated even to the ſkies, the ſanctuaries of a God, who was contented to be born in a ſtable; and whilſt we have lodged under gilded roofs, the ſucceſſors of a fiſherman, and a money changer; or rather the ſucceſſors of thoſe ſolitaries who lived in wild caves, and dwelled within the cavities of the rocks.

It is cuſtomary to alledge in favour of theſe monks, the will of the founder, long poſſeſſion, and preſcription: but who amongſt us, may not conſider himſelf as an heir, ſtripped by eccleſiaſtics? we talk of preſcription! undoubtedly there may be preſcriptions from particular individuals, to particular individuals; but can there be preſcriptions

ſcriptions from one claſs of citizens, to another claſs of citizens? can preſcriptions exiſt in oppoſition to the public welfare?

Whilſt we unfolded our abſtracted principles, we obſerved that no ſaving could be truly advantageous to the ſtate, except the ſaving which diminiſhes the number of uſeleſs men maintained at the expence of productive and induſtrious men. If we apply theſe principles to ſome modern nations, and, for example, to France, we ſhall find that her actual ſituation, and her preſſing wants daily oblige her to make an attack upon property. Now, which is the moſt ſacred, the property which is aſſerted by the idle, and uſeleſs man, who hath renounced the world, who beſtows no children on the ſtate, who ſtands in no predicament of the civil order, and who, at length, diſappears from the ſurface of the earth, without leaving even the traces of his footſteps; or the property which is claimed by the induſtrious citizen, the cultivator, who ſerves his prince, and the ſtate, and who relying on the public faith, married, and brought up his children, with that confidence which ought never te be deceived? I will ſuppoſe that the diminution of the eccleſiaſtical

cleſiaſtical revenues may be conſidered as a bankruptcy; but is not every impoſition which conſumes too large a part of the revenues, which ſinks the credit, or proves the deſtruction of the funds, the bankruptcy of the citizen? and theſe papers, theſe contracts ſecured by having been entered in formal records, are not theſe alſo properties? it is this circumſtance which muſt be reſpected. We fear to attack the monks! and who ſhall plunder us? ſhall we be plundered by thoſe men, who have never employed the riches which they ſtruggle to preſerve; by men, who prefer liberty to theſe idle properties, of which they cannot diſpoſe, and who behold them every day converted into uſeleſs pomp?

Our opinions are changed; this is a fact beyond a doubt. Let us ſtruggle no more againſt a current which forces us along, but doth not drive us into any port. It is not irreligion, but ſound policy that ſhall throw open the cloiſters. It is not avarice which ſhall gain by the plunder, but the poor people, the cultivators, the artiſans; and ſo far will our morals be from ſinking amidſt the ruins of prejudices, that the Clergy, the Biſhops, and the Curates, the true miniſters of

of morality, and vertue, ſhall reſume their rank, and receive that reſpect, to which they are entitled. All the fanatics who maintain ancient ſuperſtitions; all the hypocrites who endeavour to acquire conſequence, by defending ſome old maxims, do, therefore, uſeleſsly devote themſelves to the execration of all good men, by ſtruggling to retard a revolution, which will be effected in ſpite of their efforts to the contrary.

But I forget that this power, which they will never be able to exerciſe over events, may be directed by them againſt individuals. Yes, I do forget it, and I forget it with pleaſure, whilſt I give a looſe to the pure zeal which animates me, and to the integrity of my intentions. But, what an author ſhould never forget, is, to keep within the limits of his ſubject. Whatſoever latitude our ſubject may allow, we muſt bound our reflections within the point at which they were deſigned to reſt. We are not without apprehenſions, that the impatience of the reader may have already intimated to him, that we are near the end of our career; we ſhall, therefore, haſten to conclude it, by reſuming the principal ideas contained in this eſſay.

The

The Concluſion of this Work.

If the object of the enquiries into which we have entered, was to determine what was the condition of humanity, throughout the different epochs of hiſtory, it muſt not be forgotten that this long, and painful labour tends to one great reſult, without which it might be conſidered as a barren ſpeculation. Whilſt ſeveral enlightened, and reſpectable writers have ſtriven to direct mankind into the road, which leads to the greateſt poſſible happineſs, we have choſen, for our taſk, to examine whether the ſocial ſtate be effectively ſuſceptible of improvement; we have been particularly deſirous of obviating this objection; it is, indeed, a common objection; but it is extremely important, and extremely dangerous. *In what will all this end?* . . . . . *will not men be conſtantly the ſame?* now, to arrive at the ſettlement of this point, the way is plain before us.

Firſt, we may reſt aſſured that the legiſlation, morals, and cuſtoms maintain ſuch an empire over the paſſions, that they may give riſe to infinite differences in the ſocial ſtate;

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and as theſe differences can never be found but between two principal points, the good, and the evil, it is very certain that legiſlation and morals may render men either more, or leſs happy. But this is an article on which there can be no occaſion to expatiate, as, here, our labours have been foreſtalled by very celebrated authors, amongſt whom two(*d*) have ſet this matter in the cleareſt light. Secondly, it remained for us to prove the thing by the fact, that is, to aſſure ourſelves that if mankind had not already made a great progreſs in true polity, no conſequence could be drawn from it, in favour of the future; becauſe it is evident, not only that they have generally neglected this object, but that even when they have payed ſome attention to it, they have been far from chooſing the beſt means towards the attainment of it. It is to theſe conſiderations that we have been more particularly attached.

They

(*d*) Preſident de Monteſquieu, in his *Eſprit des loix*, and Mr. Helvetius, in his book *De l'Eſprit*. The laſt author died at Paris in December 1771. His *eulogium* hath been lately publiſhed, to which, as to a beautiful, but not an heightened picture of one of *the nobleſt works of God*, the reader muſt feel a pleaſure in referring. K.

They have induced us to collect together the moſt probable materials, relating to ancient governments, which hiſtory hath tranſmitted to us. We have met only with obſcurities and contradictions, in the few informations handed down to us, concerning the old monarchies, ſuch as the monarchies of the Ægyptians, the Aſſyrians, the Medes, &c. but we were at no loſs to diſcover that deſpotiſm and ſuperſtition reigned very generally during the firſt ages of the world. Now, as all authority, which is not exerciſed for the welfare of the whole, can only have been founded on force, and impoſture, we were not aſtoniſhed to find robbery, and uſurpation appearing with the firſt kings, and propagating themſelves with the firſt people. Paſſing from hence, to the eſtabliſhment of the moſt ancient republics, we have diſcovered that the ſpirit of ambition and jealouſy had but too conſiderable an influence over their legiſlation; and if ſome of theſe have appeared limited to defence, and preſervation, there is reaſon to ſuppoſe that they founded this defence and this preſervation on violent means, means only proportional to that forced ſtate, in which they ſprang up. In fact,

whilſt

whilſt theſe different governments were attended with ſome momentary ſucceſſes, and whilſt it happened that moral and phyſical cauſes multiplied men in ſome places, and under ſome eſtabliſhments, it appeared that the legiſlations were ſo little able to bear with theſe unexpected advantages, that it became neceſſary to diſperſe the increaſing population, and to found new colonies. Now, theſe colonies being only able to ſettle in deſart countries, or regions inhabited by unpoliſhed people, new relations of ſuperiority were introduced, exiſting in fact, but more exaggerated by opinion, all which contributed farther to remove the re-union of the people, ſource of every ſocial vertue; ſo that mankind perceived themſelves divided into three claſſes which ſeemed to weigh down each other; numerous, and ancient nations in ſubjection to monarchs; active and ambitious republics tending towards their aggrandizement; and ſavage, and untutored people, who concealed themſelves in the woods, from whence they never iſſued but in ſwarms, or made themſelves known but by invaſions.

In this ſtate of things, it became difficult for true morality and ſound polity either to

ſpring up, or to propagate themſelves. It is not to be expected that ſelf-intereſt will ſearch after by-paths, when it can meet with ſhorter and more eaſy roads. Mankind were already acquainted with riches, and all the other advantages of civil life. There was no interval between the deſire of poſſeſſing, and the inclination to invade. In this quarter, gold was found; in that quarter, were ivory and perfumes. It was the buſineſs of force to acquire theſe treaſures, for which induſtry had prepared no exchange. Foreigners were called Barbarians. Nothing more was wanting to authoriſe a ſeizure of their poſſeſſions, whilſt the owners were reduced to captivity. Agriculture, and the arts, offered more eaſy enjoyments, yet ſtill it was by the labour of ſlaves that theſe were to be procured. In ſhort, if, at that period, man had been ſtripped of the power of oppreſſing man, he would have felt himſelf as deſtitute, as he muſt be, in our times, were he deprived of the aſſiſtance of domeſtic animals.

We need not proceed any farther; and, if the reader hath hitherto been pleaſed to follow us, he muſt, undoubtedly have anticipated our intention of preſſing forward to

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one great, and general principle: and this is, that before a ſingle legiſlation every way ſuitable to them, can be eſtabliſhed amongſt mankind, the firſt ſtep muſt be to aſſimilate them. We beg leave to unfold this idea.

Whilſt the knowledge of the enlightened ages was imperfect, and confined within a narrow compaſs, and whilſt the world contained only a ſmall number of enlightened ages, ambition, and the ſpirit of conqueſt muſt have prevailed excluſively over every other principle. At Sparta, they were entirely engaged in concerting meaſures for the ruin of Athens. At Syracuſe, they were buſied in forming plans for the deſtruction of Carthage; and ſo on. To triumph over ſome few rivals, was triumphing over the whole world. Rome held out the example; victorious over Carthage, ſhe conquered Greece, and afterwards all the nations which were, at that time, known. Let us ſuppoſe that two individuals at Saint Domingo were to contend for an habitation; he who had gained the battle would remain upon the ſpot, by this ſingle circumſtance, rendered the maſter of a thouſand negroes. Now, what hath eſtabliſhed, during every period,

ſo great a difference between man, and man, between nation, and nation? it is ignorance, or rather error; truth is one, but error is infinitely varied. Error is reproduced under a thouſand different forms, and, above all, can modify humanity through every poſſible degree of debaſement and degradation. To the light itſelf, therefore, to true philoſophy belongs the power of changing the lot of men: and if, after all which hath been obſerved relatively to this ſubject, a doubt ſhould ſtill remain, let the effect, produced by the two ſole events which ſeemed to point towards this end, be particularly examined. I mean the re-union of nearly all the known world, under the Roman empire, and the aſtoniſhing propagation of chriſtianity, which happened about the ſame time. Why did not ſo many people, ſubject to the power of the Cæſars, and exiſting under the ſame laws, live, I will not ſay as brethren, but only as beings of the ſame ſpecies? it was becauſe, on the one hand, truth was not ſeated on the throne; and becauſe, on the other hand, there ſtill remained too many barbarous nations, through the darkneſs of which, truth had not as yet been able to penetrate. Why did

did not chriſtianity diffuſe amongſt mankind, an uniform and general ſyſtem of morality? it was becauſe, whatſoever might have been the ſpirit which preſided over its eſtabliſhment, a blind paſſion, a ſordid intereſt, and odious rivalries followed it, and even guided its progreſs. Its morality ſoon diſappeared under its multiplied *dogmata*; and this morality itſelf was never extended to all the different relations of man, in his ſocial capacity.

And yet chriſtianity did not fail to draw its profeſſors nearer to each other; and towards the fifteenth century, when the people, wearied out by ſuperſtitions, and eager after truths, began to reckon a little with the prieſthood, it could not have been known what would have happened in Europe, if the diſcovery of a new world had not retarded the progreſs of this dawning reaſon. Then all relapſed into the diſorders of ancient times. Immenſe countries, weak, and ignorant people were as baits to the ambition of maritime nations; and thus it is, that men return to their firſt propenſity, the deſire of invading, and of obtaining all by violence, rather than by labour. Deſpotiſm,

and an intolerance grew rich in the moment when they ceaſed to be ſtrong; thus, the progreſs of humanity was impeded.

You, who live, and, eſpecially, you, who begin to live near the cloſe of the eighteenth century, congratulate yourſelves on finding America peopled from pole, to pole, with European nations. Congratulate yourſelves on perceiving the excellent conſtitution of Great-Britain reproducing itſelf over a ſpace of more than eight hundred leagues of coaſts. Rejoice that a Czar Peter, an Elizabeth, a Catherine have at leaſt begun to civilize thoſe northern countries, from which the enemies of the earth, in former times, ruſhed forth. You will lament, as I do, but, probably, you will not always lament that a ſpirit of avarice, and excluſion ſhould have debarred the moſt fertile ſhores of Aſia from the advantages of ſociety, and from the leaſt portion of the proſperity of Europe. You will, doubtleſs, demand that, through the favorable aſſiſtance of the numerous eſtabliſhments, to which commerce hath given riſe, felicity, (if I may uſe the expreſſion) be made to encompaſs all thoſe vaſt parts of the world which are ſtill barbarous, ſtill too far removed from perfection,

fection, in order that ſenſible minds may be induced to deſire a longer life, if it be true that ſenſible minds can cheriſh life. Howſoever wicked, howſoever corrupted we may be, we love our kind, our *likeneſs*. We love our *likeneſs* becauſe we love ourſelves. There cannot be a more juſt expreſſion, were it well underſtood! we love all which is identical with ourſelves, all which calls us home to ourſelves; and by this word *likeneſs*, muſt be underſtood whatſoever reſembles us in features, manners, cuſtoms, and even in language. Aſſimilate mankind, therefore, and you make them friends. But, above all, endeavour to aſſimilate them by their opinions. Whilſt we fix the bounds of our underſtanding, let us contract the field of error. The neceſſaries of the mind are ſcarcely more extenſive than the neceſſaries of the body. Let us learn to know, and to be ignorant: in particular, let us fear the marvellous, and even the ſublime. Philoſophers! Preachers! Moraliſts! rather employ your talents in forming a people of honeſt men, than a ſmall number of heroes; and whatſoever may be the ſource of our vertues, let us believe that all which tends to multiply men within the

nations, and rich crops, over the ſurface of the earth, is good in itſelf, is good from intrinſic excellence, and preferable to all which appears valuable in the eyes of prejudice.*(e)*

(e) We muſt not conceal from the reader, that the celebrated Muratori publiſhed, about twenty years ſince, a work entitled *Della publica felicita.** We were ignorant of it ourſelves, when engaged in the work which we offer to the public; and are now happy in paying this tribute of applauſe to the Italian author, who favours us with ſeveral very judicious reflections on different ſubjects in morality and politics. We muſt, at the ſame time, obſerve that his plan hath no connection with ours, as he treats this matter dogmatically, whilſt we have almoſt conſtantly confined ourſelves within hiſtorical diſcuſſions and ſimple obſervations.

* *A French tranſlation of this work was lately publiſhed at Lyons, to which was prefixed the life of Muratori, written by his nephew.* K.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

In CHAPTER I. page 9. line 4. Dollandus is mentioned; the paſſage ſhould run exactly thus: "like the "aſtronomers, before the diſcovery of Dollond,* they "made uſe of glaſſes, which did not carry to a ſuffi-"cient diſtance."

* "See alſo two articles in the ſixty-ſecond volume "of the philoſophical tranſactions. The title of the "firſt article is, *a letter from Mr. Peter Dollond, to "Nevil Maſkelyne, F. R. S. and aſtronomer royal, de-"ſcribing ſome additions and alterations made to Hadley's "quadrant, to render it more ſerviceable at ſea.*" The title of the ſecond article is, "*Remarks on Hadley's "quadrant, tending principally to remove the difficulties "that have hitherto attended the uſe of the back obſervati-"on, and to obviate the errors that might ariſe from a "want of parallelism, in the two ſurfaces of the index "glaſs; by Nevil Maſkelyne, F. R. S. aſtronomer royal.*" K.

CHAPTER II. page 89. line 4. The modern philoſopher is Monſieur Helvetius.

CHAPTER III. page 116. line 10. When the Ottomans, and with them barbariſm took poſſeſſion of Greece, Andrew John Laſcaris fled to the ſanctuary of learned men, the houſe of Laurence de Medicis. This illuſtrious Florentine, buſied in forming a library, ſent him twice to Conſtantinople, in ſearch of manuſcripts. At his return, Lewis the twelfth invited him to Paris, from whence he repaired to Venice, in the character of ambaſſador, and acquitted himſelf ſo ill, that it was obſerved how much better calculated he was for a librarian, than a miniſter of ſtate. He died of the gout, in his ninetieth year. His grammar, publiſhed in 1476, at Milan, was the firſt book printed in the Greek language. (See *Mattaire Annales Typographici, tom.* 1. *p.* 122.) Danté, and Petrarch died ſome years before Laſcaris was born. K.

Hernonymus

Hernonymus Spartanus, another fugitive Greek, was received into France, by Lewis the eleventh, concerning whoſe regard for literature, Naudé complains, and perhaps with juſtice, that hiſtorians have been too ſilent. Gregorius Typhernas, Tranquillus Andronicus, and Hernonymus were the correctors of the preſs, and the great promoters of the Greek language at Paris. Yet theſe had been preceded by men of ſuperior eminence in polite learning, and Danté, and Petrarch had terminated a glorious career, when the Grecian empire was overthrown by the Barbarians. K.

CHAPTER V. note *(y)* page 208. The reader may gather a vague idea of the ſtate of agriculture in Scotland, at the beginning of the laſt century, from the "*Pennilleſſe pilgrimage*" of John Taylor, the water-poet, made thither in 1618. If the writer hath not dealt in fiction, to compliment the native country of his royal patron, the paſſage proves that North Britain was, in its leſs cultivated condition, widely different from *a land of famine*. . . . . "I was credibly informed that within the compaſſe of one yeere, there was "ſhipped away from that onely port of Leeth, four-"ſcore thouſand boles of wheat, oates, and barley into "Spaine, France, and other forraine parts, and every "bole the meaſure of foure Engliſhe buſhels; ſo that "from Leeth onely hath been tranſported three hundred "and twenty thouſand buſhels of corne; beſides, ſome "hath been ſhipped away from Saint Andrewes, from "Dundee, Aberdeene, Diſert, Kirkady, Kinghorne, "Burnt Iland, Dunbar, and other portable townes, "which makes me wonder that a kingdome *ſo populous* "*as it is*, ſhould nevertheleſſe ſell ſo much bread corne "beyond the ſeas, and yet to have more than ſufficient "for themſelves." See Taylor's works, folio, 1630, page 130.

CHAPTER V. page 213. line 4. The following note, to which a marginal mark ſhould have referred at the end of the words "*happy people*," hath, through the negligence of the tranſlator, been omitted in the body of the work.

See in the tragedy of *Æſchylus*, entitled, *the ſeven chiefs before Thebes*, a deſcription of thoſe calamities to which a conquered city is expoſed.

Mr.

Mr. Hume obſerves (from Diodorus Siculus, *lib.* 18.) that *when Alexander ordered all the exiles to be reſtored throughout all the cities, it was found that the whole amounted to twenty thouſand men.* And here I muſt remark that this conſideration may ſerve to explain the reaſon why in former ages the newly-eſtabliſhed cities became peopled in a ſhorter ſpace of time. In fact, the country was filled with baniſhed perſons who knew not whither to flee for refuge: as ſoon as ever an azylum was opened to them; as ſoon as ever they entertained the leaſt hopes of procuring in it the rights of citizens, rights which men born free can never bear to loſe, they flocked to it from every quarter. It is thus that Rome became populous, and not in conſequence either of the wiſdom of her laws, or the perfection of her agriculture.

CHAPTER VIII. page 277. line 6. The modern author is the Preſident Monteſquieu.

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Page 14. l. 13. inſtead of "ou trouve," read "on trouve."
Page 15. l. 20. inſtead of "Piaſtes," read "Palatins."
Page 32. l. 27. inſtead of "50215," read "60215."
Page 57. l. 27. inſtead of "Hieronyme," read "Hernonyme."
Page 58. l. 26. inſtead of "ce devroit," read "ce devoit."
Page 93. note 4. l. 1. inſtead of "Hoggarth," read "Hogarth."
Page 122. l. 19. inſtead of "ſix mille," read "ſoixante mille."
Page 122. l. 19. inſtead of "dix mille," read "cent mille."
Page 126. l. 10. inſtead of "ſoixante ſix," read "ſoixante."
Page 130. l. 25. inſtead of "s'eſt par," read "s'eſt pas."

CORRECTIONS

CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS

FOR THE

SECOND VOLUME OF THE TRANSLATION.

Page 6. l. 18. inſtead of "iuundations," read "inundations."

Page 9. l. 4. inſtead of "Dolondus," read "Mr. Dolland."

Page 10. note *(b)* l. 25. inſtead of "work," read "publication."

Page 12. note *(b)* l. 23. inſtead of "le Grece," read "la Grece."

Page 28. note *(k)* l. 17. inſtead of "France," read "France."

Page 28. note *(k)* l. 20. inſtead of "intimitation," read "imitation."

Page 36. note *(q)* l. 23. inſtead of "novel," read "nouvel."

Page 37. note *(r)* l. 7. inſtead of "and without reſerve adjuſted to," read "adjuſting it without reſerve to."

Page 41. note *(x)* l. 2. inſtead of "pyſicians," read phyſicians."

Page 47. l. 1. inſtead of "are neglected," read "were neglected."

Page 49. note *(a)* l. 14. inſtead of "councillor," read "councellor."

Page 50. note *(a)* l. 32. inſtead of "too," read "two."

Page 52. l. 15. inſtead of "were," read are."

Page 55. note *(b)* l. 2. inſtead of "1041, it," read "1041. It."

Page 59. note *(g)* l. 6. inſtead of "beneficient," read "beneficent."

Page 89. l. 2. inſtead of "this contempt of ſentiments," read "this miſtake in our opinions."

Page 98. note *(e)* l. 10. inſtead of "begun," read "began."

Page 103. note *(m)* l. 8. inſtead of "great kingdoms," read "powerful kingdoms."

Page 104. note *(n)* l. 4. inſtead of "bolonged," read "belonged."

Page 112. l. 26. inſtead of "principal," read "principle."

Page 121. l. 9. inſtead of "gordion," read "gordian."

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CORRECTIONS FOR THE SECOND VOLUME.

Page 126. l. 15. inſtead of "luſtre, he contrived," read "luſtre. He contrived."

Page 131. l. 10. after "France," add a note of interrogation.

Page 139. l. 7. inſtead of "nyſus," read "niſus."

Page 139 l. 8. after "reſiſtance," add a comma.

Page 143. l. 1. inſtead of "beneficient," read "beneficent."

Page 166. the K at the bottom of the page ſhould ſtand at line 16.

Page 190. note *(c)* l. 2. inſtead of "was," read "were."

Page 192. note *(e)* l. 2. inſtead of "dividerenter," read "diviserentur."

Page 237. l. 15. inſtead of "law," read "Mr. Law."

Page 250. note *(t)* laſt line of the page, inſtead of "may be," read "might have been."

Page 255. l. 7. inſtead of "an œconomiſt," read "œconomical."

Page 280. l. 10. inſtead of "preſent of Europe," read "preſent ſtate of Europe."

Page 295. l. 23. inſtead of "if I conſult," read "if I conſider."

Page 297. l. 20. inſtead of "awkwark," read "awkward."

Page 302. l. 23. inſtead of "double the advantage," read "the double advantage."

Page 320. l. 1. inſtead of "ther," read "their."

Page 326. l. 6. inſtead of "eight-ſeven," read "eighty-ſeven."

Page 352. l. 10. after the word "penny," add a mark of interrogation.

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